

JPRS 79564

2 December 1981

China Report

RED FLAG

No. 18, 16 September 1981

FBIS

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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CHINA REPORT

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Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party published in Beijing.

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SEVERAL QUESTIONS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR COUNTRY'S INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 81 pp 2-6

[Article by Yuan Baohua [5913 1405 5478]; passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, our industrial and communications fronts have, under the leadership of the party Central Committee and the State Council, made initial achievements in implementing the principle of readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving. The industrial structure has begun to develop rationally and harmoniously. Thanks to a series of measures taken to guarantee the supply of raw materials, fuel, power and funds that are needed by light and textile industrial production, the light and textile industries have experienced a bigger growth than heavy industry over the past 2 years. During the readjustment, the growth of heavy industry has slowed down and changes have begun to take place in the structure of the industry. By following the principle of closing down and suspending fewer enterprises and merging and shifting more enterprises to other production, a number of the backward enterprises with high consumption, the situation in which there was serious waste and very little economic results has been improved. Better economic results have been obtained by concentrating the limited fuel and raw material resources so as to guarantee the needs of the enterprises which have good quality and saleable products and low consumption. The trial implementation of the expansion of enterprise autonomy has helped mobilize the initiative of enterprises and their staff and workers and has improved the readjustment as well as the management of these enterprises. Beneficial experiments have been carried out for reorganizing industry and integrating enterprises. The experiences accumulated in this aspect will be useful in reforming the economic system. Under the guidance of state planning, regulation by market mechanism has played its auxiliary role in promoting production. Over the past 2 years and more, our industrial production has gradually developed amid readjustment and reform with a correct orientation and with good results. This orientation must be followed in the future.

According to the principle of "promoting a further readjustment economically and a further stability politically" put forth by the party Central Committee, our industry must be centered on readjustment for the next several years so that, through readjustment and reform and on the basis of a stable economy, our industry will be able to gradually rationalize its structure, management system and

enterprise organization. It will take a new road of development characterized by less investment, low cost, good quality, many varieties and good economic results. That is to say, our industry must take the road of stabilizing the economy through readjusting the structure, relying on old enterprises in tapping potential, and restructuring and reforming the system to obtain better results. This is the basic change in the work on our industrial and communications fronts and it is a very arduous task. To effect this change, it is imperative to do the following:

1. /Develop the production of consumer goods in a big way and further readjust the service orientation of heavy industry and the structure of heavy industrial products./ Developing the production of consumer goods in a big way will help change the whole economic structure, gradually restore the rational inner relations among various economic departments, and improve the link between the structure of production and the structure of consumption. This will result in a good national economic cycle. In this way we will be able to improve considerably the economic results of the whole society and properly solve the contradiction between accumulation and consumption. With a population of almost 1 billion of which 800 million are peasants, our country is a very big market with very favorable conditions for developing the production of consumer goods. We must take various measures to increase the output of consumer goods by a bigger margin. But, in developing the production of consumer goods, we must pay attention to solving the following problems: 1) We must calculate the society's purchasing power and must be fully aware of the new situation in which the purchasing power in rural areas is constantly growing. Following the implementation of economic policies for rural areas, the peasants' collective and individual income has drastically increased. Thus, the peasants have more money in their hands and, consequently, their purchasing power is growing rapidly. We must carry out investigations of typical cases, analysis and calculation and proceed from reality to do a good job in producing and supplying commodities in rural areas. 2) We must study the consumption structure of our country. With such a huge population, our country's per capita natural resources are low. But our people have maintained the good tradition of frugality and hard work. We must decide on our way of life based on our national conditions. We must save energy in carrying out industrial and agricultural production and in our consumption. Western countries in their way of living have consumed too many natural resources and consequently have gone down a blind alley. We cannot follow their path. 3) We must do a good job of selecting proper locations for the production of consumer goods so as to lessen our blindness in this respect. As soon as possible, we must do good planning work for the mass production of famous-brand products and formulate standards for calculating costs and prices according to mass production by advanced and big factories. Heavy industrial departments must serve the production of consumer goods and take active measures to solve the problem of supplying various raw materials and technical equipment needed for production. 4) In order to enable factories to constantly improve quality and lower costs, consumers may be organized to compare and assess products.

Developing the production of consumer goods does not mean slackening the production of heavy industry, which is supplying technical equipment for the whole national economy and supplying an increasing amount of industrial raw materials for the production of industrial consumer goods. We must further readjust the

service orientation and the structure of the products of heavy industry so that heavy industry will be able to maintain a certain growth in the interest of the harmonious development of the national economy.

2. /Truly do a good job of promoting the economical use and development of energy./ Waste of our energy resources is a very serious problem. The amount of national revenue created per ton of energy now is only half of that during the first 5-year plan and 20 percent lower than in 1965. Most of the 100 million tons of crude oil produced annually is consumed domestically. At present, oil supply is tight and has become an outstanding problem in our national economy. In order to solve the energy problem, we must simultaneously promote exploitation of oil resources and energy conservation. For a certain period we must practice the principle of giving top priority to energy conservation, with oil conservation as the key at the present stage. There is very great potential for oil conservation. Therefore, it is necessary to take strict measures to effect a large reduction in the volume of oil consumption and a lower per-unit consumption of crude oil, and to replace oil with coal and resolutely reduce domestic oil consumption. We must take administrative, economic and legal measures to promote the rational utilization and conservation of oil so that we will be able to set aside more oil and coal for export. With increases in the oil export, we will be able to garner additional foreign exchange that can be used as a special fund for exploiting energy and building up the related infrastructure such as railroads and harbors. This is an important matter that is in the interests of stabilizing the development of the national economy and that will promote the smooth development of the modernization program. Therefore, this work must be done well.

3. /Give full play to the role of existing enterprises./ In order to open up a new road for the development of our industry, we must basically change the principle for construction. In the future, the development of our industrial production must not depend heavily on investments and the building of new factories. On the contrary, it must depend on giving play to the role of existing enterprises and gradually shift the emphasis from expanded reproduction by extension to expanded reproduction by intention and from extensive to intensive management. In order to give full play to the role of existing enterprises, we must resolutely implement the principle of "production first and then capital construction, and tapping potential and renovating first and then building new factories" and regard technical renovation and renewing equipment as a strategic task. This is relevant to the question of whether our industrial production will be able to maintain a certain growth during the period of the national economic readjustment and preserve its strength for future development; whether light industrial production will be able to continue to grow so that heavy industry, and particularly the machine building industry, will rapidly change the situation in which production is dropping and to gradually increase production to enable the national economy to have a favorable economic cycle; and whether we are able to rapidly improve the production technology of our industry and basically change the situation in the many enterprises that are characterized by old equipment and backward technology. That is to say, in modernizing our industry we must start from modernizing existing enterprises and use our limited funds and goods and materials primarily to restructure existing enterprises. Some enterprises with certain conditions must gradually modernize through tapping potential and renovation. The main task of technical renovation includes

equipment renewal, technological improvement and technological innovation so as to improve the quality of products, increase variety, lower consumption and, in particular, save energy and comprehensively utilize resources. The key problem is to improve the quality of products and reduce the consumption of raw materials. If we fail to improve quality and to reduce consumption, we will be able neither to achieve good economic results nor raise the level of industry as a whole.

To give full play to the role of existing enterprises, it is also necessary to continue to readjust enterprises well and to strengthen their management. The weak links in our present management of enterprises include a lack of solidity in our basic work and an incomplete implementation of responsibility systems. Consequently, the production of a number of enterprises is still chaotic, coupled with low quality, high consumption of raw materials and serious waste. Therefore, we suggest that the industrial and communications systems throughout the country must learn from Shanghai's advanced technology and management experiences so as to do a good job in readjusting enterprises. The primary task at present is to rectify and build well the leading groups so that they will gradually be composed of revolutionary and young people with specialized knowledge. We must also step up the building of the ranks of staff and workers on the basis of advanced technology, technical capability and strict discipline. We must also form and develop various responsibility systems. This work can be started by establishing a responsibility system by factory directors and then gradually establishing a responsibility system by workshop heads and group heads down to responsibility systems for various production links and processes. In this way, we will be able to improve management and the economic effect through readjusting basic work.

In readjusting enterprises we must also perfect the leadership system. The factory director responsibility system and the workers' congress system under the leadership of the party committee are the basic systems for enterprises. In our socialist enterprises, it is imperative to truly give play to the party's leadership role and strengthen the party's ideological and political leadership over enterprises; to carry out democratic management by staff and workers so as to give full play to the initiative of the masses as masters of their country; and to allow factory directors to exercise unified command over the production and administrative work of enterprises. The combination of these three aspects demonstrates the dialectical nature of collective leadership and democratic management, which complement each other. This is a leadership system, arrived at after years of exploration, which is in line with our national conditions and is effective. But it must be stressed that while we are strengthening the party's leadership over enterprises, we must also set up a responsibility system by factory directors. Socialized, modern and mass production requires that we set up a production command system with high-level authority and a production and technical responsibility system at various levels headed by factory directors. Factory directors are the leaders of the administration of enterprises and the commanders of production technology and management who are responsible for all economic activities of enterprises. Therefore, they must have a certain autonomy so that they will be really responsible and will dare to grasp tasks and manage and shoulder responsibility. But such centralized command does not entail arbitrary action. The socialist public ownership system demands that we carry out democratic management so as to really guarantee the position and right of the

broad masses of staff and workers as masters of their country. On the other hand, centralized management will be able to really give play to its role only when it is based on democracy. Therefore, leading factory cadres and management staff must respect the democratic right of workers' congresses and the congresses must support the administrative authority of factory directors, defend the authority of the production command system headed by factory directors, and educate staff and workers to abide by laws and discipline. In this way, factory directors will be able to perform their tasks well, administrative planning and measures can be perfected after they are discussed and passed by workers' congresses, and this planning and these measures are then guaranteed implementation by the staff and workers, who will conscientiously carry out their tasks. This means that people will follow the command of factory directors in managing enterprises well.

4. /Practice various forms of the economic responsibility system according to different situations in existing enterprises./ Various forms of the economic responsibility system have been widely introduced into industrial production this year and the situation is good. Preliminary statistics show that the industrial enterprises above the prefectural level across the country that have implemented the economic responsibility system now comprise over 65 percent of the total enterprises. The reasons that this responsibility system has developed quite rapidly are that, first, there are definite policies emanating from the party Central Committee and the State Council, and there is a foundation based on the experiences over the past 2 years in experimentation on the expansion of the autonomy of enterprises and on other reforms. Second, the agricultural production responsibility system has effected great changes that have encouraged and enlightened the industrial front. Third, enterprises and the broad masses of staff and workers have urgently demanded that the situation of "eating out of the same big pot" and egalitarianism be changed. It is now apparent that the industrial and communications fronts must implement the economic responsibility system because it is a major reform that accords with the present production and management levels and with the consciousness of the broad masses of people. It plays a positive role in overcoming the longstanding shortcoming of "eating out of the same big pot" and egalitarianism, in mobilizing the initiative of enterprises and their staff and workers, and in improving management, production and the economic effect.

In order to implement the industrial production responsibility system well, it is necessary to do the following:

1) Two links must be grasped well. One link is to handle well the relations between enterprises and the state and to assign full responsibility to enterprises so as to solve the problem of thinking that it makes no difference whether enterprises incur losses or make profits. Another link is to introduce the principle of distribution according to work and understand well the relations between enterprises and staff and workers so as to solve the problem of thinking that it makes no difference whether one works hard or not, and to directly link the income of staff and workers with their work performance and encourage them to be concerned with the development of production and the economic effect. 2) The realization of the "three more's," that is, more revenue for the state, more profit retention for enterprises and more income for workers, must be guaranteed. The key point in the relation between the state and enterprises is to define a

rational basic figure for assigning full responsibility and the proportion of profit retention; the key point in the distribution within enterprises is to define average quotas and rational per-unit prices for piecework. The main goal in this aspect is to decrease the amount of wages included in the per-unit cost of products. 3) In order to carry out the principle of assigning full responsibility for profits, state planning quotas must be met, profits must be linked with quality, quantity, variety, consumption, cost and safety, and a comprehensive verification must be carried out so as to prevent one-sided seeking of profits. 4) Various forms and methods must be carried out according to specific conditions, hasty mass action must be prevented, while the enterprises without the necessary conditions should not strain their efforts to introduce economic responsibility system. The enterprises that are carrying out the piecework system or the system of piecework with overfulfillment of quotas must have better leading groups and more production tasks, have the necessary raw materials resources, produce saleable products and have a fairly complete basic work and management system. 5) Implementation of the economic responsibility system must be closely combined with readjustment of enterprises. This system must be considered as a breakthrough in readjustment. At the same time, we must readjust well enterprises and work hard to improve management so that the economic responsibility system will be able to develop healthily. 6) The strengthening of ideological and political work must be guaranteed, while repeated education must be carried out so as to correctly handle the relation between the state, the collective and the individual and to educate the masses in the principle of "from each according to his ability and to each according to his work." In this way staff and workers will be able to keep the whole situation in mind and make greater contributions to the country. 7) Supervision and control over economic activities of enterprises must be strengthened. It is imperative to protect the proper rights of enterprises and prevent them from getting income through improper measures so as to gradually define and complete various economic laws. 8) The method of assigning full responsibility for trades or companies by various management departments or companies may be implemented in cities, regions and provinces. This method will help mobilize the initiative of management departments and enterprises, and is conducive to regulating unbalanced business situations among trades, unifying the planning of various trades, promoting reorganization and integration, preventing blind development, overcoming commandism and decreasing bureaucratism. This method must therefore be advocated.

In short, in carrying out the economic responsibility system in industrial production, we must follow the correct orientation, have a positive attitude, advance firmly and resort to flexible methods. Because the economic responsibility system has been popularized, the party committees at various levels must strengthen their leadership and study and solve in time various problems that might occur so as to constantly sum up and perfect experiences in practice. Special attention must be paid to the following: First, prevent the situation of being willing to work hard for big profits but reluctance to work hard for small profits, or divorcing production from social needs. Second, it is necessary to guarantee the quality of products and oppose shoddy production and the shifting of responsibility onto consumers. Third, full attention must be given to the additional income of staff and workers (including awards and additional income from piecework). The average income of staff and workers in an enterprise cannot be increased too much or too suddenly. When the profits retained by an enterprise

for use as an award fund become excessive, the staff and workers must be persuaded to shift part of the retained profits to reserve funds.

5. /Promote in a big way industrial reorganization and integration of enterprises in industrial cities as the core with regard to developing famous-brand products./ The key cities and enterprises that are producing such products generally have advanced technology with a high management level. With such cities and enterprises as the core, measures must be taken to promote the reorganization and integration of enterprises, because such measures will achieve quicker results in setting an example for the whole country. At present, the biggest obstacle to reorganization and integration is "departmental and regional ownership." Therefore, in order to do a good job of reorganization and integration, we must uphold the principle of voluntarism and at the same time strengthen administrative intervention. In particular, the big enterprises that are concerned with the national economy and people's livelihood must rely on strong administrative measures in making timely decisions. In order to break away from the situation in which departments are isolated from each other and have regional barriers and self-styled systems, the State Council has decided that the integration and reorganization of the enterprises in 22 cities, including Beijing, Tianjin and Shanghai, will be planned in a unified way and carried out by localities with strong support from various departments of the State Council. Matters that cannot be decided after consultations between localities and departments must be handed over to the State Council for adjudication. This practice will help enterprises break away from "departmental and regional ownership" and give full play to the initiative of localities. But when localities encounter problems, they must proceed from the situation in the whole country and fully discuss the problems with the management departments concerned. Industrial reorganization must be considered from the point of view of the national situation and it is not permissible to only consider the development and growth of a single city.

In promoting industrial reorganization and integration of enterprises, we have also experimented in establishing a consultation conference in some trades, and we have gradually explored and summed up the experiences in strengthening management. According to our national conditions, the reorganization of trades can be based on the following eight assumptions: 1) The trades may draw up medium- and long-range plans, annual plans, and plans for readjustment and reform. 2) The trades may draw up standard specifications and technical standards. 3) They can exchange technical and economic information and share the collected information with others. 4) They can provide inquiry services, organize work in making technical breakthroughs and provide guidance for enterprises. 5) We can organize coordination within trades, launch interfactory competitions with assessments made by the appropriate trades. 6) We can propagate government policies and laws regarding the trades, perfect the management of business activities of the trades and put forth demands and suggestions. 7) We can train specialized staff in the trades. 8) We can organize international activities for the exchange of economic and technical experiences. We still do not have enough experience in trades management; therefore, we have to obtain such experience through experiments and through training cadres so as to create conditions for further reforming the economic system.

6. /Persist in regulation by market mechanism under the guidance of state plans and do a good job in coordinating industry with the departments of commerce, goods and materials and foreign trade./ At present, the tasks of production and circulating goods are respectively taken by industrial departments and the departments of commerce, goods and materials and foreign trade. The products of industrial enterprises are mainly distributed and sold by goods and materials departments and commercial departments. The products for export are handled for foreign trade departments. Consequently, contradictions among these departments with regard to coordinated planning as well as purchasing often appear. In order to solve this problem, we must give full play to the role of regulation by market mechanism under the guidance of state planning. Do a good job of linking and coordinating planning in industry, commerce, goods and materials, and foreign trade. We must also stipulate that: 1) All enterprises must consider it their primary task to fulfill state plans. An enterprise can sell by itself part of its products after it has fulfilled its plans and orders. Such an enterprise may sell its products according to unified pricing. It must pay taxes and strictly abide by the state's financial discipline, and it cannot increase prices on its own or resort to improper measures to obtain income. 2) Industry must be closely coordinated with commerce, be mutually supportive, strictly carry out state planning and conscientiously implement contracts for purchasing and selling. Industrial departments must supply saleable products according to quantity, quality and planning. Commercial departments must make full use of existing organizations, traditional channels, and wholesale and retail networks and points, actively purchase products and organize selling, supply industrial departments with timely information about changes in market demand, and support industrial enterprises in selling part of their products so as to support production, expand purchasing and sales, stabilize prices and promote the flow of goods. 3) Industrial and foreign trade departments must closely coordinate with regard to goods for export, and they must be active in expanding exports so as to create more foreign exchange for the state. Industrial departments must work hard to promote the production of goods for export and fulfill the foreign trade purchasing plan. Industrial enterprises may negotiate with and export to other countries the products that are not included in the purchasing plan of local foreign trade departments, but they must get approval from local governments.

7. /Implement the policies for collective economy and actively support the development of the collectively owned industrial enterprises in cities and towns./ This question is particularly important to the development of the secondary light industry. At present, there are nearly 60,000 secondary light industrial enterprises across the country, with 7 million staff and workers, and 80 percent of these enterprises are collectively owned. In 1980, the gross output value of the secondary light industry was 49.3 billion yuan, 51.2 percent of the gross industrial output value of the entire light industry; foreign exchange earnings were \$2.8 billion, 70 percent of the total foreign exchange earned by light industry. There are tens of thousands of varieties in our secondary light industrial products, and this industry affects hundreds of millions of households and is closely related to the lives of people in both rural and urban areas. Developing the secondary light industry is very important to enlivening the market, expanding exports, accumulating construction funds and solving the problem of social unemployment. In order to develop secondary light industry, the State Council has defined various policies with regard to the distribution of after-tax profits

of the collective enterprises of the secondary light industry and yearend bonuses. The collective enterprises have their own characteristics and they cannot be treated the same way we treat the enterprises under ownership by the whole people. The key to promoting the production of the collective enterprises is relying on policies. Practice in many places has proved that, as long as there are correct policies, the industrial enterprises under collective ownership in cities and towns will have a very great production potential.

8. /Step up training of staff and workers to improve their political, cultural and technical level./ This is an important strategic measure for realizing the modernization program; it is also an important aspect of implementing the readjustment principle. The party Central Committee and the State Council have always paid very much attention to the education of staff and workers and we have made very great achievements in this aspect. But this education was seriously damaged during the 10 turbulent years. Although it has been rehabilitated and developed in recent years, it is in general still lagging behind the previous level and it is a very arduous task to train staff and workers and establish related regulations. In February of this year, the party Central Committee and the State Council have specifically passed down the "decision on strengthening the educational work of staff and workers." In the following month, the State Council convened a national conference on the education of staff and workers and worked out the corresponding regulations. In order to carry out such education well and promote this work in ideology, planning, organization and measures and gradually establish a regular training system, it is necessary to grasp well the two points of leading cadres and young workers. The level of leadership can be improved only when we are able to grasp well that the leading cadres in factories and mines must study, and consequently these leading cadres will be able to lead the whole staff and workers in training to change the situation in enterprises. Young workers make up about half of the total number of staff and workers but they generally have a lower political, cultural and technical level. Therefore, through training they must be helped to improve their level. All enterprises that do not have any or enough production tasks must grasp the opportunity of readjustment and organize their staff and workers to carry out systematic study. Those with full production tasks must also, on the basis of assigning certain production quotas for certain people, organize the surplus people to study in various ways so as to improve the political and cultural level of staff and workers as soon as possible.

The staff and workers of the industrial and communications fronts are now shouldering very heavy tasks. Therefore, we must conscientiously study and implement the spirit of the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, unify our thinking, strengthen unity, combine strict implementation of responsibility system with a high sense of responsibility, perform tasks in a down-to-earth way, go deep into reality and tap the potential of enterprises, improve management, strive to increase the economic effect, create more materials and wealth for the country and create more benefits for the people. We must work with enthusiasm, seek truth from facts, go deep into reality in carrying out our work and break down conventions to open up a new road so as to enable industrial production and transportation to make further progress amid readjustment and reform.

CARRY FORWARD LU XUN'S SPIRIT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 81 pp 7-12

[Article by the Office for Editing Lu Xun's Works]

[Text] Over the past several years, under the leadership of the party and with the support of various units, we edited and annotated the new edition of "Complete Works of Lu Xun." Now this annotated 16-volume "Complete Works of Lu Xun" (hereafter called "Complete Works" for short) has been published. The publication of this "Complete Works" is in commemoration of the centenary of the birth of Lu Xun and is also an important part of our cultural capital construction. Lu Xun was a great writer, thinker and revolutionary who was held in high esteem by the Chinese people. His works are a precious spiritual wealth for us. They educated and encouraged generations of people in the past and will certainly have a far-reaching influence on our magnificent struggle today for the realization of socialist modernization and for establishing socialist spiritual civilization.

While reading and studying Lu Xun's works, we often feel as if fire is burning in our breast. Like a brilliant light illuminating our hearts, his great spirit, his profound thinking and lofty moral character have always inspired us to continue fighting unceasingly. Although a new socialist system has been established in our country, which put an end to the humiliating history of the semifeudal and semicolonial society, and our times are entirely different from Lu Xun's, his works still have great vitality, for the thinking and the spirit of a communist, as well as the virtue and the most precious character of the Chinese nation concentratedly expressed in such a great image, will live forever. Lu Xun's spirit, especially his spirit of patriotism, his spirit of "perseverance in struggle" for the liberation of the people and for socialism, and his spirit of adhering to principles and taking the whole situation into account, is still a good example for us today and is worthy of our study.

I

Lu Xun was a great patriot. In his youth, he had already appeared in the historical arena with lofty sentiments and aspirations, ready to devote himself to his motherland. "There is no way for my heart to evade the arrows of the gods while wind and rain like a huge rock dim my homeland. Asking in vain the cold stars to greet my people, I am resolved to give my blood to my dear motherland." This was a pledge he made at the time under the influence of the democratic ideological trend and in the face of the corrupt Qing government and the great sufferings of

the Chinese people. From then on, he made indomitable efforts to fulfill this pledge.

When selecting a road to follow in his youth, he always closely linked himself with the future of his motherland. For the revival of the motherland, he once selected a road to "learn from the Western countries," which was then disdained by many people. When he believed that medical science could not only be a means of curing disease but also could help the reformation of the country, he changed to the study of Western medical science without hesitation. Later, stimulated by facts, he felt that transforming the national spirit was the "most important way" to save the nation, and finally selected the road of promoting a literary movement, which was also disdained by commonly held views at that time. Lu Xun voluntarily regarded the needs of the motherland and the people as his own duties and thus displayed the high consciousness of a young patriot.

"The Spirit of the Spartans," his first literary work, was a heroic ode to patriotism. It highly lauded the heroic spirit of the Spartans characterized by "better to die for the country than to live in a conquered nation" and inspired people to rise and fight to save the nation from subjugation and ensure its survival. In order to "transform the national spirit," he studied and explored the weak point of the "national spirit" with a deep and warm affection for the Chinese nation, trying to learn the "sickness" and "call for attention to cure it." On the other hand, like many noble-minded patriots at that time, he sought help from the Western countries, actively introduced natural sciences and democratic ideas of the West and lashed out at national conservatism that cherished the outmoded and preserved the outworn, so as to speed up the awakening of the national people and push forward China's reformation. He held that we should have more national confidence and learn from foreign countries in our own development so that China would become rich and prosperous and progress, and so that the Chinese nation would be able to "compete for survival under heaven." Simultaneously, out of his pure and lofty national pride, he resolutely opposed the decadent deeds of "picking up some odds and ends of the Western countries to show the people without knowing the conditions in China and the actual situation in Europe and America," or even "regarding feudalism and declining things as modern civilization." Showing great indignation at the imperialist plunder of China's natural resources, he wrote "China's Mineral Annals," in which he loudly appealed to the public: "China belongs to the Chinese nation. It can be studied but never be explored; can be admired but never coveted by foreigners." This expressed the strong demand for safeguarding national independence, sovereignty and dignity. Under the historical conditions at that time, Lu Xun's spirit of patriotism and his demands were in keeping with the requirement of the old democratic revolution. Naturally, he pinned his hopes on and actually threw himself into this revolution. However, the old bourgeois democratic revolution symbolized by the 1911 revolution did not bring independence and prosperity to China. This was because China's bourgeoisie was weak and was easy to compromise. It was unable to carry through to the end the struggle against imperialism and feudalism, unable to put forth a revolutionary program in this struggle and, therefore, unable to save our motherland from the abyss of semifeudalism and semicolonialism. Thus, he could not help but feel suspicious and disappointed at the political forces which he pinned his hopes on as well as its prescription to save the nation.

However, unlike Yan Fu, Zhang Taiyan and some other well-known patriotic thinkers, Lu Xun did not stop fighting. This is why his spirit is commendable. He went on searching for new forces and new weapons. After the victory of the Russian October Revolution and the rise of the new democratic revolution in our country with the May 4th movement as its beginning, his enthusiastic patriotism burst out again from several years of silence, and, being full of valor and vigor, he threw himself into the new and surging patriotic revolutionary movement. He integrated his ideal and wishes for saving the nation and saving the people with the great and thorough anti-imperialist and antifeudalist struggle of the broad masses of people led by the proletariat, conscientiously obeyed the orders of the "pioneers" and cheered the "galloping warriors." He launched fierce offensives against the imperialists, the northern warlords and their running dogs, against the feudalist traditions that hindered the reformation of society and swept away all corrupt ideas that harmed the existence and development of the Chinese nation. In spite of the oppression and attack of the reactionaries, he wholeheartedly supported the patriotic struggle of the masses of people. Though he was depressed in a period of time after the May 4th movement, due to the split of various forces within the new cultural united front and his discovery of the disagreement between his subjective world and the objective things, he was still always in the forefront of the struggle and advanced rapidly. He continually examined, revised and enriched his ideas with practical experiences he gained in the revolutionary struggle and finally accepted the truth of Marxism and firmly advanced toward the communist world outlook.

After Lu Xun had mastered Marxism and knew more about the CCP, his patriotism reached a new height. He firmly pinned his hopes for the independence and liberation of his motherland on the revolutionary cause of the proletariat led by the CCP and integrated it with proletarian internationalism. He firmly believed that "the proletariat, and the proletariat alone, which was newborn, can represent the future." He praised the people's revolutionary struggle under our party's leadership as "a most glorious page in the history of national emancipation in China," and said: "The future of China and of mankind rests with you." Taking Marxism as a weapon, he enthusiastically threw himself into the revolutionary cause of the proletariat and fought heroically for national emancipation and the glorious future of socialism and communism. The achievements he scored in his later years were the most brilliant of his fighting career. All his struggles in this period, such as his struggle to safeguard the principles of Marxism and the cause of the proletariat, his exposure of and struggle against Japanese imperialist aggression and the treacherous and anticommunist policies of the KMT government, his exposure of and struggle against the KMT fascist rule and its counterrevolutionary cultural "encirclement and suppression," and his criticism of feudalism, the slavish comprador mentality and various rotten bourgeois ideologies, were demonstrations of the invincible revolutionary and ideological force of a communist. History has proved that being a historical category, patriotism has different substance and characteristics under different historical conditions and always has the closest connections with the advanced classes at the time. In order to find a way out for his motherland, Lu Xun struggled and searched for a long time and finally came to realize and unswervingly believe that only Marxism, the CCP and the people's revolutionary cause under its leadership could save China and bring China a bright "future." Lu Xun's road was a reflection of the inexorable trend of development in modern Chinese history. It was also a typical road that

many noble-minded patriots had followed at that time. This is still an inspiration for us today.

Lu Xun loved the motherland with utter devotion. He did not, and of course was unable to, show his love for the motherland when all flowers were in bloom, but he was determined to devote himself to the motherland when she was suffering, after "asking in vain the cold stars to greet my people." The sufferings of the motherland deepened his lofty love, and for its future, he never stopped fighting in spite of innumerable trials and tribulations he experienced, which was seldom seen in the cultural history of our country. Under the reactionary White terror, his name was on the wanted list several times and he was forced to take refuge on many occasions. The slander against him from the class enemies and the misunderstanding, exclusion and sometimes the attacks from his comrades-in-arms often pushed him into great "misery." He once said: "In my past career, I have received nothing but scolding." Even so, he never wavered in his love for the motherland. He never cared about his own safety or personal gains and never required remuneration from the motherland and the people. He said: "I need neither reputation nor high position." Under the White terror, since he was always in danger of being assassinated, many friends, both at home and abroad, advised him to go to some foreign country for convalescence, but he refused and said: "I cannot leave China now." He also said: "The revolutionary love exists among the people." Having integrated himself with the fate of the motherland and the people throughout his life, he always showed boundless love for his motherland and the people no matter how perilous the situation was. This was why he had devoted all his strength selflessly and fearlessly in the unremitting struggle and made great and immortal contributions to the liberation of the Chinese nation. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Representing the great majority of the nation, Lu Xun breached and stormed the enemy citadel; on the cultural front he was the bravest and most correct, the firmest, the most loyal and the most ardent national hero, a hero without parallel in our history." Lu Xun set a glorious and everlasting example of patriotism for us. In our struggle for a prosperous China, his spirit of patriotism will always encourage and educate us.

II

Lu Xun experienced three historical periods in his life: The last years of the Qing dynasty, the reign of the northern warlords and the KMT rule. He witnessed such great revolutionary movements as the 1911 revolution, the May 4th movement and the first revolutionary civil war. He also experienced the period of White terror in which Yuan Shikai massacred members of the revolutionary parties, the Duan Qirui government butchered the patriots, and the KMT committed counterrevolutionary massacre. At the time when sudden changes often took place in the situation and on the tortuous road, Lu Xun always fought indomitably and effectively and struck relentless blows at the reactionaries. On the cultural front, he waged unremitting struggles to open up a road for the development of China's new culture, such as the struggle against the "Xueheng [1331 5899] faction" and the "Jiayin [3946 1377] faction," which upheld the doctrine of "back to the ancients," the struggle against the "modern commentary faction" and the "new-moon faction," the debate and struggle against "nationalist literature," against "free men," "the third kind of people" and the "Lunyu faction" [the Confucian faction]. In these persistent and complicated struggles, Lu Xun advocated and displayed the

spirit of "perseverance," which was a summation of his experiences in the long-term struggle and an outstanding characteristic of his spirit.

Lu Xun said more than once that any reformation in China required "thoroughness and perseverance in struggle." What he meant by "perseverance" was to "keep on carving unflaggingly," or to keep on fighting with perseverance, and never stop until one reached his goal. He exhorted people not to be satisfied with "discussing and criticizing social malady," not to be "impatient and too violent," but to make the reform steadily and step by step, not to relax their will to fight or stop fighting when they scored some achievements and not to waver, give up halfway or feel disheartened in failure. But, having the lofty ideals in mind, he exhorted them to go on fighting indomitably and steadily, and "never stop fighting until the furious enemy is conquered." Obviously, this "perseverance" embodied the spirit of making thorough and uncompromising revolution, the indomitable revolutionary will and the solid and hard-working style of fighting.

Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Lu Xun was a man of unyielding integrity." The spirit of "perseverance" is an expression of such unyielding integrity. It means a great deal to a revolutionary, because the success of any profound revolution or reformation cannot be easily achieved without tortuous or even repeated struggles. It is especially so under China's conditions. China had a history of more than 2,000 years of feudal rule. Although the 1911 revolution put an end to such a history, it did not eradicate the foundation of the feudal rule. The feudal forces remained rather strong. The old and new warlords, which were products of the integration of both feudal and imperialist forces, lay like a dead weight on the backs of the Chinese people. For a long period of time, the feudal and semi-feudal, semicolonial ideology and culture corrupted and shackled the minds of the people. All this became a huge obstacle on the road of advance of the Chinese people. To defeat such powerful enemies and overcome such a huge obstacle and to win victory for the democratic revolution, especially for the socialist revolution, it is necessary to carry out long-term and repeated struggles in which another steps into the breach as one falls. Lu Xun learned this characteristic of the Chinese revolution through practice. He said: "Having witnessed so many happenings in China, such as the 1911 revolution, the second revolution, Yuan Shikai becoming emperor and the restoration of Zhang Xun, I cannot help but be more and more suspicious." Being suspicious, he studied more carefully the conditions in China and came to the following conclusion: "There is only one way to cure the numbness of this country, that is, to 'persevere,' in other words, to 'keep on carving unflaggingly.'"

Lu Xun was a clearheaded realist. His spirit of "perseverance" was based on his thoroughgoing investigation of the social practice and his profound understanding of the difficulties and arduousness of the revolutionary tasks. He repeatedly stressed the necessity of boldly facing up to reality and the powerful reactionary forces. It was necessary to face up to the "fierceness and power" of the forces of darkness, "not only knowing the revolutionary reality but also knowing clearly the enemies and the situation in all aspects, and then decide the future of the revolution." With regard to the ideal at that time that took "facing up to reality" as "propagating darkness" and "being unable to find a way out," Lu Xun pointed out that without the courage to face up to reality and the dark side,

there would be "no way to reform," and that all about a "bright way out" was but empty talk. Thus he pointed out clearly that facing up to reality is the foundation and starting point for changing reality. Lu Xun said: "Without a powerful force, new movements will not be able to shake the strong foundation of the old society." According to his analysis, the strength of the old society could be seen not only in the power and fierceness of the reactionary violence, but also in "its good method of making the new forces compromise while the old society itself does not compromise at all." In the meantime, like a "big dye vat," the deep-rooted tradition of feudalism can make new things degenerate. This is why "China experienced many new movements, but each time the new was defeated by the old." Thus he advocated "being resolute, persevering and enhancing actual strength in the struggle with the old society and old forces." Since Lu Xun dared to face up to reality and difficulties and upheld the attitude of a thoroughgoing materialist, he was able to wage a forceful and unswerving struggle against the reactionary forces and make himself ready at all times to deal with all kinds of perilous conditions and sudden changes in the situation, thus placing himself in an invincible position.

Lu Xun's spirit of "perseverance" was also based on his firm confidence in the future. Lu Xun was not at all a "pessimist" or "nihilist" as some people claimed. On the contrary, he was always full of confidence in the future even in the darkest years. He firmly believed: "We are sure to have a long and bright future." His faith in the future was, at the earlier stage, a result of being influenced by the theory of evolution. As he himself put it, he did not know what the "future" would be like, but he believed that brightness would defeat darkness. So he fought steadily for a bright future. When he accepted Marxism and realized that "the creator of a 'new' society is the proletariat," he set this faith on a new scientific foundation of historical materialism. The bright future of socialism and communism, which was brought to light by Marxism, became his lofty ideal and firm belief. However, Lu Xun was different from those who "cherished romantic illusions toward revolution." He did not regard his ideal as an empty illusion that was separated from reality. He held that an ideal could be realized through arduous struggle, and for its realization, it was necessary to "devote much attention to the present which is the first step toward such a future." It was necessary to get ready for a sanguinary struggle and "do all kinds of lowly and troublesome work--not as romantic as poets have imagined." All "those socialists who sit in a salon talking about socialism, which sounds pretty and noble, but never thinking of putting into practice, are entirely unreliable." For the realization of his ideal, Lu Xun fought untiringly throughout his life. Simultaneously, his idea and belief made him full of hopes in the long and arduous struggle and full of confidence in victory.

The integration of clearheaded realism and revolutionary idealism was the profound ideological basis of Lu Xun's spirit of "perseverance in fighting." Obviously, without a profound understanding of reality and a correct estimate of the arduousness and tortuosity of the revolutionary road, one could not have the spirit of "perseverance in fighting," because in this case, he could easily be involved in infantile "leftist" disorder which was divorced from reality, or even become wavering and disappointed when meeting with unexpected setbacks. Similarly, without firm confidence in the future of the revolution and without an ambitious goal and lofty ideal, one could not have this spirit either, because in this case,

he would be afraid of difficulties and accomplish nothing. This often occurred in the history of modern revolution. Lu Xun, however, kept up the struggle in extreme hardships and difficulties under the attack of darkness and violence, especially during the 10 years of the counterrevolutionary cultural "encirclement and suppression" of the KMT, and thus became a giant in China's cultural revolution. His spirit of "perseverance in fighting" also showed its strength in this struggle. Undoubtedly, this is valuable experience in struggle and a spiritual wealth Lu Xun bequeathed us. It is necessary for us today to learn from and to develop this spirit of "perseverance in fighting," in order to overcome all difficulties in the advance of our socialist cause and win still greater victory.

III

During his life, Lu Xun carried out resolute struggles against class enemies of every hue. He also struggled against various erroneous ideas and tendencies within the revolutionary camp. In dealing with these erroneous ideas and tendencies, Lu Xun had a strong sense of principle and, simultaneously, paid much attention to taking the interests of the whole into account.

The strong sense of principle was a distinctive characteristic of Lu Xun in dealing with ideological differences within the revolutionary camp and an expression of his high sense of responsibility toward the revolutionary cause. Lu Xun always attached great importance to unity within the revolutionary camp and made great efforts for it. But he insisted that this unity should be reached on the basis of principle; in his words, it should "have a common ground."

Experience shows that due to the complicated nature of social life, people often have different views on the revolutionary situation and tasks, as well as the tactics in struggle--hence the inevitable ideological differences. These differences are usually principled differences. Lu Xun never yielded or accommodated himself to the erroneous ideological tendencies that "do harm to revolution." Instead, he resisted, criticized or struggled against them in accordance with different conditions. Especially when some erroneous ideas and tendencies appeared, which had wide influence upon the society, he never hesitated to engage in open polemics on these erroneous views, so as to draw a clear distinction between right and wrong in ideological and theoretical principles and to safeguard the fundamental interests of the revolution. As everyone knows, before the disintegration of the "new youth," when Hu Shi, one of its well-known members, raised the absurd idea of "not talking about politics," Lu Xun resolutely resisted this idea. In the spring of 1930, Comrade Li Lisan had a meeting with Lu Xun in which he asked Lu Xun to write something to support his leftist stand. Though, of course, Lu Xun showed respect to Comrade Li Lisan as he was the leader of the party, he did not accommodate himself to his erroneous propositions. Lu Xun also offered sharp criticisms of the dogmatist trend on the question of "revolutionary literature" in 1928, which was divorced from China's reality, and of the erroneous views in the propaganda of the slogan of "national-defense literature" in 1936. He not only criticized the erroneous ideas of those who opposed him, but also the erroneous ideas of those who supported him. (The criticism of Hu Feng in the polemics on the "two slogans" was a glaring example.) This showed his open and aboveboard attitude of a great thinker who never acted out of personal feelings at the expense of principles.

On the question of principles, Lu Xun deeply hated those who "change their minds easily without taking a firm stand." He insisted that one should have a firm stand and be principled rather than trim the sails. Only when "everyone has an independent will and is unshakable in the storm" can China have a bright future. One should not act "without a correct outlook on right and wrong" and say something today and change it tomorrow, as if he believes in everything but actually does not believe in anything. Lu Xun said: "From ancient times to the present, all those who do not have their own theories, or whose changes of mind cannot be traced, or who use various theories at any time as their weapons, can be called hooligans." Though these words are sharp, they remind us that the act of trimming the sails, which shows no sense of principle, is a serious problem. To a revolutionary, in particular, this is a problem of ideological quality and should not be taken lightly.

While taking a clear-cut stand and making a penetrating analysis of ideological and theoretical problems in internal polemics Lu Xun also paid much attention to taking the interests of the revolution as a whole into account in leading with various relations. He had sharp disagreements with the "Chuangzao She" ["The Creators' Association"] but at the same time pointed out that there were "many of the firmest and most correct people" in this organization. He insisted on uniting with these people and finally founded the "League of Leftwing Writers" with them. In his correspondence we can see that he was not satisfied with the dogmatist and factionalist tendencies within the "League of Leftwing Writers," but he continued to support and defend this organization and on many occasions publicly announced that he was still a member of it in order to defend the honor of this league.

Lu Xun said: "As to those attacks on me, whatever they might be, if they started from a lofty goal and not from personal consideration, I have nothing to complain about." This showed his broadmindedness and forgiving attitude toward the revolutionary comrades, and he meant what he said. For example, he was once incorrectly criticized by Comrade Cheng Fangwu, and to fight back, he made very sharp and sarcastic refutations. Even so, he continued to regard Cheng Fangwu as his comrade. In the winter of 1933, when the latter secretly went to Shanghai from the soviet area, Lu Xun enthusiastically helped him find the underground party organization. Guo Moruo too, under the pen name of Du Quan, wrote some articles attacking Lu Xun as a "remnant of feudalism" and a "fascist." Having a tacit understanding of this, Lu Xun then said: They "abused one another with pens, but since the fighting was for a common goal, personal resentment was never borne in mind." Lu Xun held that since man cannot be perfect, one cannot be too hard on his comrades and require that "the ideas of all fighters be 100 percent correct." If people have a common goal, they should be united. When talking about the merits and shortcomings of others, it is necessary to "avoid mentioning small matters and have eyes on the main aspects." Only in this way will we be able to make more comrades and friends united and advance together.

Adhering to principles and simultaneously paying attention to the interests of the whole--this is an expression of a high ideological and political consciousness and the fine quality of a revolutionary. It is an important guarantee for maintaining the powerful fighting force of the revolutionary ranks. In order to win continuous successes for the revolution, it is necessary to encourage this

spirit and, simultaneously, fight against all ideas and actions that run counter to principles and the interests of the whole and that corrode the revolution. Therefore, it is extremely important to learn from and carry forward Lu Xun's spirit of adhering to principles and having the interests of the whole in mind.

Of course, the ideological legacy Lu Xun left us is more than what is mentioned here, but the above-mentioned spirit is of great importance today. The cause we are undertaking today is the continuation and development of the great cause for which Lu Xun devoted his entire life under the new historical conditions. We have established a state power in which people are masters of their own houses, and we have established the socialist system. Our task is to build our country step by step into a modern and powerful socialist country with a high degree of material and spiritual civilization. This is a historical task more profound and more arduous than that of the democratic revolution. To attain this goal, longer and more arduous and complicated struggle are needed. Thus, we must develop the spirit of patriotism and, like Lu Xun, loyally and selflessly love our great motherland, love our socialist system, love the great CCP that leads us forward and devote ourselves to the prosperity of our motherland. We must constantly carry forward the indomitable revolutionary spirit of hard struggle and, like Lu Xun, through "perseverance in struggle," surmount every difficulty to win victory. We must carry forward the spirit of adhering to principles and taking the interests of the whole into account and, like Lu Xun, hold firmly to the truth and fight resolutely against all words and deeds that "harm the revolution." Today, the most important thing to do is to adhere to the four basic principles, maintain the political situation of stability and unity, unite all forces that can be united and work hard with one heart and one mind. Thus, we shall be full of confidence in accomplishing the glorious task that history has entrusted to us.

CSO: 4004/3

SUN YAT-SEN--A GREAT PATRIOT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 81 pp 13-18

[Article by Liu Danian [0491 1129 1628]]

[Text] In the 40 years between the time he resolved to overthrow the Qing regime in 1885 to the time of his death in 1925, Dr Sun Yat-sen had been through such important historical events as the 1911 revolution and the first KMT-CCP cooperation and had waged an indefatigable struggle for the independence, freedom and unification of our motherland. The life of Dr Sun Yat-sen was that of a great patriot.

Patriotism, a word of great sanctity and solemnity, has inspired countless patriots from various revolutionary as well as ruling classes in modern China to sacrifice their lives, shed their blood and suffer untold hardship. All patriots in our country, regardless of what nationality or class, have been regarded as advanced elements of the Chinese nation, and as people with lofty ideals and are honored and respected by the people. Dr Sun Yat-sen was the most outstanding representative of such people with lofty ideals.

Why is it that in modern China, the question of patriotism has become such a prominent question, something which it had never been in past historical periods? The reason for this lies in the fact that the contradictions that existed between imperialist aggression and oppression and the independence of the Chinese nation had become the most important and prominent issues in modern Chinese society. Imperialism made more and more frenzied attacks, while the ruling landlord class and comprador bourgeoisie capitulated and betrayed their country. The Chinese nation suffered unprecedented enslavement and China was in imminent danger of being carved up and subjugated. In his early work, "On Patriotism," Liang Qichao said: In speaking of China, Westerners often say that the Chinese do not have patriotism in their nature. Their leadership power is waning. They are timid and overcautious. When something is forced upon them by foreigners, they yield and obediently follow. At the slightest chance of making a profit, they madly scramble for it. Foreigners talk every day about how they are going to carve up China and choose the best pieces for themselves. They treat the Chinese as their servants and China's land resources as being rightfully their own. They openly discuss the matter in parliaments and newspapers. They think it quite normal and have no misgivings about it whatsoever. Even now this picture conveyed by Liang Qichao is enough to make one's hair stand on end. In his analysis, he went on to say that the Chinese did not have the deeply rooted bad habit of being devoid of

patriotism. "Since the Sino-Japanese war, our armies have been suffering defeats and have had to give up whole slices of their land and pay indemnities. The experience was both traumatic and painful. Thus many fervent patriots gradually rose up to defend national policies." ("The Cold Drink Pavilion Collection" [Yinbing Shi Heji 7390 0393 1358 0678 7162], Vol 2) This analysis of Liang Qichao accords with reality. Modern Chinese history, viewed from one angle, is the history of the Chinese people's anti-imperialist, antifeudal struggle. Patriotism--anti-imperialism--is one of the mainstreams of modern Chinese history. However, chronologically speaking, that kind of struggle ought not be calculated from the time of the "Sino-Japanese war" but from the time of the Opium War.

The dissensions and antagonism between the resistance group led by Lin Xexu and the Daoguang emperor, Mu Zhanga, Qi Shan and other such people during the Opium War, and both before and after Dr Sun Yat-sen launched his patriotic activities, between hawks like Peng Yulin and the gang of Li Hongzhang during the Sino-French war, and between hawks like Weng Tonghe and the Westernization group of Li Hongzhang--all sprung from the antagonism between the patriots or patriotically inclined within the landlord class and the traitors and capitulationists. The "100-day reform" was an early bourgeois movement with patriotic overtones. The Taiping Rebellion, though it never called for opposition to foreign aggression, fought, as its final adversaries on the battlefield, foreign aggressors as represented by Gordon. Despite its backwardness, the goal of the Yihetuan was to "uphold the Qing and exterminate the foreigner." Even an aggressor like Hart had to admit that it "actually had its roots in patriotism and was aimed at strengthening China in its resistance to foreigners." The Taiping Rebellion and Yihetuan were both patriotic struggles waged by peasants. The patriotism of both the "100-day reform" and Yihetuan were subjected to willful distortion by the "gang of four" some 10-odd years ago. In order to "Drag out Liu Shaoqi," and under the pretext of criticizing the film "The Inside Story of the Qing Court," they did a grand job of an article entitled "Patriotism or National Betrayal?" According to their version, reform activities and the Yihetuan that resisted the carving up of China could not apparently get rid of the stigma of national betrayal, while the Empress Dowager, who said that we had to "curry favor with countries on which we are on good terms as far as China's resources would permit," was merely a bit "xenophobic" and should really be considered a patriot. Of course, all this has been cleared up today and history has been restored to what it should have been in the first place. Dr Sun Yat-sen's patriotic struggle was the continuation of the patriotic movements of the landlord resistance group, the bourgeois reformist group and the peasantry. At the same time, it was also a brand new development of these struggles and possessed the complete character of the bourgeois democratic revolution.

Among Western works researching the life of Dr Sun Yat-sen, one line of thinking appears to be popular: Considering he was a revolutionary, there was a rather disconcerting side to Dr Sun Yat-sen, and that was his predilection for forming alliances with the most adventurist of imperialist elements in the West and Japan during his struggle for the realization of his great revolutionary plan. These writers give as examples Dr Sun Yat-sen's extensive contacts with expansionist elements in the Japanese Government and among the Japanese public, his associations with English, German and French expansionist elements, as well as his acceptance of vast sums of money from the Japanese at the time of the anti-Yuan

struggle. They then go on to ask pointedly: Was he in fact a patriot and "nationalist" or the opposite? There is no denying the fact that Dr Sun Yat-sen entertained illusions about imperialism. What the involvement of foreign imperialist elements in fact brought for the revolution was, on the whole, not achievements but rather destructive and negative influences. However, there is no reason for us to exaggerate this aspect.

As a bourgeois, semibourgeois revolutionary, it would in fact have been quite remarkable if, under the historical conditions of the times, he had not entertained any illusions whatsoever. Marxist studies, in confirming the fact that Sun Yat-sen was a great patriot, did not disregard these illusions or consider them to be above criticism. In the final analysis, looking at something from the side is not like looking at something directly, and nonessential matter will never become essential matter. We must not think that, in considering this problem, the Marxist exposition is so-called "new orthodoxy," in that it is only by paying attention to those illusions that a scientific study can be carried out. Facts do not allow people to explain things as they please. Each fact has its own appropriate role to play.

The bourgeois nature of Sun Yat-sen's patriotic struggle became apparent in a series of speeches and in his practice both before and after the 1911 revolution. Of these, certain points are of universal significance.

I. Distinguishing Between the Different Natures of State Power and Pointing Out That the Chinese Should Only Love an Independent "Chinese State" That Was Opposed to the Qing Regime

At that time, the "throne-saving," "monarchist" and "constitutionalist" activities in which Kang Youwei, Tang Caichang, Liang Qichao and such others were successively engaged were all based on the premise that it was patriotic to uphold the Qing regime. Sun Yat-sen had sharp powers of observation. In his 1903 article "Refutation of 'Protect-the-Emperor Daily'" he wrote: "They ('protect-the-emperor daily') purport to love their country. I cannot but ask whether it is the Qing empire or the Chinese state that they love. If it is the Qing empire, they should stop saying 'recovery means the immediate expulsion of foreign races.' If it is a Chinese state that they love, they should not adopt as their patriotic policy the protection of the emperor, since helping a foreign race to enslave China does not constitute loving one's country, and they will in fact be harming their country." ("Collected Works of Premier Sun," four-volume edition, edited by Huang Jilu, Vol 4, pp 176, 177) In his "Joint Discourse on the Preservation of China's Integrity and Its Partitioning" published in the same year, he said: "The Chinese people are, in the eyes of foreigners, like a disorderly herd and appear not to be patriotic by nature. Thus, on the battlefield, they flee before the fighting starts, and when it comes to doing things, they shift responsibility onto others. It is felt that they are incapable of being aroused and it is not known whether it is only under Qing rule that they are like this...or the Chinese people's patriotism and righteousness find expression in other things." ("Collected Works of Premier Sun," three-volume edition, edited by Huang Jilu, Vol 3, p 110) By saying that the Chinese should not love the "Qing empire" but the "Chinese state," Sun Yat-sen meant that patriotism did not allow one to love the Qing regime. As Sun Yat-sen saw it,

the Qing regime could not survive without ceding territory, bartering away its sovereign rights and fawning on foreigners. "Not only is it ceding and bartering away our territory by mortgages and indemnities, it is also helping foreigners to quell local uprisings and then giving away the land. Xian County and Guangzhou Bay in Guangdong are examples of this. If the Qing government did not help them in their nefarious deeds, our people would be able to go about their business undisturbed and our country would be worth sacrificing our lives for. ...Now with the Qing government acting as the foreigners' hired thugs, our land is theirs for the taking." ("Collected Works of Premier Sun," four-volume edition, edited by Huang Jilu, Vol 4, pp 176, 177) This in fact points out the fact that the Qing regime was the tool of the foreign bourgeoisie and the Chinese landlords in their joint rule over the Chinese people or perhaps the "foreigners' imperial government." How can a patriot love such a traitorous imperial government? Well then, what was the class nature of the "Chinese state"? Sun Yat-sen did not use any class analysis viewpoint to categorically point out which social classes it comprised. In any case, there were big differences between the earlier period and the later period. It was in the early period that he indirectly gave a clear and correct explanation of this problem. The American President Lincoln once put forth the slogan: "Of the people, by the people, for the people." Naturally the "people" referred to by Lincoln consisted mainly of none other than the bourgeoisie. Sun Yat-sen frequently cited this bourgeois slogan of Lincoln's to expound his "three people's principles," explaining that the "nationalist republic" that he advocated setting up was a country that was run according to the principle of "of the people, by the people, for the people." Therefore, loving the "Chinese state" meant loving an independent China with the national bourgeoisie as its main body. At that time, there was only the latter type of China which could stand against the "foreigners' imperial governments." By the time of the later period, Sun Yat-sen had developed the old three people's principles into a new set of three people's principles that aligned itself with Russia and with communism and supported the peasants and workers. Although the country that he thought should be loved still belonged to the category of a bourgeois republic, it already included an element of the popular masses and its nature was thus much clearer.

II. In Order To Remain Patriotic, One Had To Take the Revolutionary Road

The debate about which country they loved boiled down to this: whether to overthrow Qing rule by revolutionary violence and establish an independent China or, by means of constitutional reform, to preserve Qing rule. Before the 1911 revolution, the Kang-Liang faction abroad and the constitutionalist faction at home, due to their fear of revolution, did their utmost to request a reform of the Qing government, to preserve the Qing government and to quietly put down the revolution. Kang Youwei said that the blood of revolutionaries flowed like streams, that there corpses were strewn all over the place and that "they must have killed over 400 million people." Liang Qichao said that revolution called for "the barbarous massacre of 200 million people." Zhang Jian said that revolutionaries in fact belonged to the category of bandits and that the tragic fragmentation of China that occurred during the periods of the six dynasties and five dynasties would occur again. They unanimously concluded that in order to be patriotic and save the country, they could only take the road of constitutional reform. Sun Yat-sen and the revolutionaries insisted that in order to be patriotic, it was

necessary to overthrow the Qing regime that had already become the puppet of imperialism, to starve it of fuel and to take the revolutionary road. The road of the reformists and constitutionalists was in fact that of letting the Qing government adopt the constitutionalist label while preserving the pillars of imperialist and feudal rule. China would merely continue in its bleakness. The road of Sun Yat-sen and the revolutionaries was that of overthrowing the Qing regime. It thus dealt a hefty blow to the imperialism that lurked behind it. This heralded the beginning of the alliance between anti-imperialism and antifeudalism. Only then did China stand any hope of recovery.

The "Kang Youwei Refuted," "Advice to Fellow Villagers" and "Refutation of the 'Protect-the-Emperor Daily'" published severally by Zhang Binglin and Sun Yat-sen in 1903 marked the beginning of the great polemics between the revolutionaries and the monarchists and constitutionalists. In his "Letter of Advice to Fellow Villagers," Sun Yat-sen pointed out: "Revolution and protecting the emperor go their own separate ways and, like black and white, do not mix and are not mutually interchangeable.... The logic behind them is different, they run counter to each other, they are at odds with each other and are as incompatible as fire and water. This should come as no surprise to anyone." ("Collected Works of Premier Sun," edited by Hu Hanmin, Vol 3, p 112) He bitterly attacked the constitutionalists, saying that they were traitors just like Wu Sangui, Hong Chengtao, Zeng Guofan and Zuo Zongtang. Ranks and titles, banks, railways, mines, businesses, schools and so forth are merely tools with which to lure people and lies with which to trick them. (ibid., Vol 1, p 1072) After the founding of the China Revolutionary League, the polemics were stepped up. In the third issue of MINBAO [3046 1032] it was announced that article 12 of the "Program of MINBAO for the Refutation of XINMIN CONGBAO [2450 3046 0654 1032]" could be summed up as one concerning anti-Qing revolution and pro-Qing reform. The XINMIN CONGBAO published its polemical articles in a collection called "A Major Question Concerning the Life or Death of the Chinese Nation." The MINBAO pointed out that revolution and reform did in fact constitute a major question concerning the life or death of the Chinese nation. However, if we had acted according to the way advocated by the reformists, we would have brought about the "immediate downfall of China." In the article "On Present Party Groupings and Future Political Parties in China" published in 1906 in the XINMIN CONGBAO it was said that the theory of revolution was very popular in China and that those who advocated constitutionalism were branded as traitors. Without justice on their side, it said, they could not be bold and assured. It admitted that in the course of the struggle surrounding ideological theories, the revolutionaries had won and the reformists had lost. Shortly afterwards, Liang Qichao tried to drum up support for his hope that the MINBAO and XINMIN CONGBAO would "in the future make pacified remarks and desist from attacking each other." Even the staunchest opponent of Manchu rule, Zhang Binglin, thought that "a reconciliation was permissible." Sun Yat-sen was firmly opposed to this idea. The revolutionaries gathered strength in the course of the resistance struggle of the dispersed masses at home and sowed the seeds of revolution among them. In the end, after much hard work, they launched the Wuchang Uprising and toppled the Qing regime with one blow. This was the result of their adhering to the revolutionary path. In his "Origins of the Revolution," Sun Yat-sen gave a blow by blow account of the armed uprisings that he personally took part in. Attention should be paid to those struggles. However, like certain publications put out by the KMT before, it simple-mindedly

attributed the downfall of the Qing regime to those 10 uprisings, an analysis which is obviously contrary to historical fact. In their eyes, the popular masses did not exist. On the other hand, certain Western researchers have recently gone to the other extreme. They belittle or even reject Sun Yat-sen and the leadership of the China Revolutionary League, considering their effect to be insignificant. This does not accord with the facts either. If that had been the case, how do they explain the birth of the Nanjing revolutionary government and the election of Sun Yat-sen as provisional president? There may be as many rooms as there are clouds, but we must still have a main hall; mountains may tower up in all their splendor, but there must still be a principal summit among them. After the 1911 revolution, Yuan Shikai and the northern expedition took over from the reactionary rule of the Qing regime. Sun Yat-sen, standing firmly by his revolutionary principles, forged ahead to the point of cooperating with the CCP. With China under imperialist and feudal rule, patriotism called for revolution. This was the road adhered to by Sun Yat-sen throughout his life and it was also the only correct road to take.

In the past 2 years, in discussions on the 1911 revolution, one viewpoint, gleaned from the early works of foreigners, seems to be in vogue, namely that if China had only continued along the constitutionalist road, it appears that it could have modernized itself. The need for the 1911 revolution is thus disputed, and some think that it might even have messed things up. In analyzing this question, we should retrace history. In the beginning, Yi Xin, Zeng Guofan, Li Hongzhang and other such people of the landlord class launched the Westernization movement. They hoped that by honoring the unequal treaties and without touching the vital points of the feudal system, they could make use of Western technology, preserve the old ruling order and realize the principles of so-called "self-strengthening" and "self-support." The result was that China further became a semifeudal semicolon. National capitalism was suppressed, thus making it hard for it to grow and develop. After 30 years, the Westernization movement finally failed. Thus the bourgeois reform movement initiated and launched by Kang Youwei, Liang Qichao, Yan Fu, Tan Sitong and such others arose in response to the needs of the times. They demanded that the Qing government carry out a thorough political reform, change the feudal dictatorship system, institute a constitutional monarchy and reward national capital. They advocated studying Western bourgeois culture to save the nation from disaster. Holding an imperial decree in one hand and holding out Confucianism as their protective shield with the other, they appeared to act with all vigor and speed. However, as soon as a minor counteroffensive was launched by die-hard feudal forces, it had to admit defeat. According to the various explanations given by researchers, the Westernization and reform movements differed in nature. One was traitorous, the other involved patriotic bloodshed. However, the failure of both illustrates one and the same problem: in China, if we take the road of reform, whether it be that of minor reform or of a reform in the political system, we will, in our bid to achieve independence, prosperity, strength and modernization, run up against a signboard bearing the words "no thoroughfare." If the Westernization movement had solved China's problem of "self-strengthening" and "self-support," the reform movement would not have come on the scene. Similarly, if the reform movement had solved China's problems of national independence and capitalist development, the 1911 revolution would not have come about. It was because the Westernization movement had not found any solutions for China that we had the reform movement.

Similarly, it was because the reform movement had not found any solutions for China that we had the 1911 revolution. A bourgeois democratic revolution was necessary for China's progress. This was the cause of the 1911 revolution. Marxist studies have appraised the historical achievements of Sun Yat-sen and the revolutionaries in the light of this historical necessity. If we were of the opinion that the constitutionalist road could have led China to its ultimate goal of modernization, we would not know how to view historically the string of defeats suffered from the time of the Westernization movement to the time of the constitutionalists themselves. Sun Yat-sen and the revolutionaries wanted, by means of a revolution, to carve out a path that would lead China to modernization, and the constitutionalists tried in vain to obstruct that path. Therein lies the basic difference between them.

III. Opposing the Fragmentation of the Country and Calling for Its Unification

Soon after Sun Yat-sen entered the political arena, he was faced with the carving up of China by the imperialists. After the 1911 revolution, separatist warlord regimes were established and the country fell apart at the seams. Opposing the fragmentation of the country and supporting its unification became a pressing task in his patriotic struggle. The longer he struggled, the more profoundly he understood the fact that the establishment of feudal separatist warlord regimes and the unification of the country were inextricably bound up with the forces of foreign aggression and the unequal treaties. This understanding was most clearly expressed in the "Manifesto of the First National Congress of the Chinese KMT": "The interests of the warlords themselves run counter to those of the people and they are incapable of existing independently. Therefore all warlords have to establish contacts with imperialist superpowers. ...And the superpowers also make use of them. They hand out large loans to meet the warlords' military expenditures, thus creating internal disorder and interminable disputes in China. In the course of this, their economic power is increased and there is a scramble for concessions. From this it can be seen that the internal disorder in China is really the doing of the superpowers. A conflict of interests arises among the superpowers in China, and each superpower, in order to further its own interests, helps warlords slaughter our people." ("Collected Works of Premier Sun," four-volume edition, edited by Huang Jilu, Vol 3, pp 70-71) Sun Yat-sen pointed out in his many conversations on his journey from Guangdong to the north in 1924, that the many incidences of disorder since the revolution were all the result of aid given to military men by various countries in order to fulfill their ambitions. "China is at present the colony of over 10 countries. We have more than 10 countries as masters, for we are the slaves of more than 10 countries." "The soldiers and viceroys at present in China are all the result of foreign treaties." Only by eliminating the foreign powers who are creating disorder in China can its peaceful unification be achieved. His requesting the government of Duan Qirui to convene a national assembly from the time of his arrival in Beijing from Guangdong up to his death in Beijing could be said to be his final attempt at unifying the country.

Sun Yat-sen had on more than one occasion discussed the logic of why China should not be split up, only unified. Much of his 1924 lecture "Democracy" was devoted to this question. It was a brilliant exposition. At that time, certain intellectuals advocating the total imitation of Western ways thought that America's

prosperity and strength were attributable to its implementation of a federal system. A federal system meant that each state drew up its own constitution and enjoyed autonomy. If China was to become as prosperous and strong as America, each province should draw up its own constitution and practice provincial autonomy. After the provincial constitution had been adopted, we could then proceed to jointly set up a national constitution. In other words, they sought to divide an originally unified China into over 20 independent units and to unify it at a certain future time. Rebutting this "theory," Sun Yat-sen was at pains to say: "This kind of thinking and mentality is truly erroneous to say the least. It could be said that these people simply repeat what other people say and get used to it after awhile. Thus, they see that America adopted the federal system and became the richest and strongest country in the world and think that if China is to become prosperous and strong, we must also emulate the American federal system. Take as another example the struggle I mentioned last time of the people of Europe and America for democracy. There they did not say they were struggling for democracy, merely freedom and equality. We would be equally blind and it would be equally inexplicable for us to say that we Chinese must, in this our next attempt at revolution, emulate the slogan of the people of Europe and America and say that we are struggling for freedom and equality.... The reason for America's prosperity and strength do not lie in the independence of each state, but in the unified country that has evolved from the union of all the states. Thus the prosperity and strength of America is the result of the unification of the states and not of their fragmentation. As China was once unified, we should not divide it up into provinces again. China's present disunity is a temporary phenomenon and this is the work of armed separatists. We must eradicate this kind of separatism and prevent armed separatists from using the idea of a provincial federation as a protective shield. If these military men are given half a chance of setting up a separatist regime, China will not be able to grow prosperous and strong again.... Only by overthrowing the Qing dynasty and inheriting its territory were we able to set up our present republic. Why do we again have to split up our country which has up to now been unified? People who advocate splitting up China are definitely careerists wanting to set up separatist regimes for themselves in various provinces, as Tang Jiyao has done in Yunnan, as Zhao Hengti has done in Hunan, as Lu Tingrong has done in Guangxi, and as Chen Jiongming has done in Guangdong. This kind of separatist provincial federation is a warlord provincial federation and not an autonomous provincial federation of the people. This kind of provincial federation is not beneficial to the people, only to individuals. We should clearly differentiate between the two." ("The Three People's Principles--Democracy," fourth lecture) To be patriotic, we must oppose any splitting up of the country and preserve its unity. How right he was! Sun Yat-sen specifically cited as an example the fact that in the 260-odd years of the Qing dynasty, the three northeastern provinces, Xinjiang, Rehe, Suiyuan, Qinghai, Monggol and Xizang were all ruled by the Qing government. The reason why he did not cite Taiwan was obviously because Taiwan at that time was subject to Japanese colonial rule.

For patriotism, there is the problem of making a distinction between the nature of the state power, and for unification, there is also a problem of around what class and under who's rule one should unify. The "Spring and Autumn Annals" upholds a "great and general unification," which is an ancient feudal unification. In his "Refutation of the Revolution," Kang Youwei attacked the

revolutionaries for their calls for the independence of the various provinces at the revolution's very beginning and alleged that this would inevitably divide China, which had been a unified country for thousands of years, into 18 or even dozens of small countries. He called this an extremely foolish idea to follow the example of India and seek weakness and national subjugation. He expressed his desire to "love the great China and to love unification." What Kang Youwei wanted was to unite China as before under the traitorous rule of the Qing government. Both the "armed unification" advocated by Cao Kun and Wu Peifu and the realization of unification through an "aftermath meeting" advocated by Duan Qirui meant a unification of China under the rule of feudal warlords who were agents of imperialists. As Dr Sun Yat-sen sharply pointed out, "Any Chinese who advocates splitting up the country is certainly a careerist." The opposition to the division of China by the comprador class and the feudal warlords was not at all inconsistent with the opposition to the counterrevolutionary unification they longed for even in their dreams.

Sun Yat-sen resolutely opposed division and defended the unification of the motherland. The instructions he left us were very prescient. Up to now Taiwan and the mainland of the motherland are artificially divided. This situation does not conform with the tendency of the development of history or with the basic interests and demand of the people, and it also runs counter to Sun Yat-sen's repeated instructions. It is the glorious bounden duty of every patriot to support the return of Taiwan to the embrace of the motherland and realize the reunification of the country and the unity of the nation and to speed up our great motherland's advance toward the four modernizations. The trend of history can never be countered. Anyone who runs against it and refuses to mend his erroneous ways and change to a new course will inevitably be in danger of being reduced to be a man who has performed a criminal act against his nation. This is something one cannot overlook. "Patriotism is a kind of very profound feeling toward one's motherland that has been consolidated for thousands of years." (Lenin) This feeling constitutes the ideological and political foundation for the present unity and identity of China's people of all nationalities including the people of Taiwan. No force can finally destroy this foundation. The reunification of the motherland and the unity between the people on the mainland and the people in Taiwan will unquestionably be realized.

Sun Yat-sen summarized his theory as the "three people's principles." Patriotism was the ideological motive force for the birth of this theory. To love the country, one should not love the traitorous Qing government; to love the country, one must follow a revolutionary path, oppose division and persistently uphold the unification of the people's country. These are the implementation of the three people's principles in certain aspects of its practice. The campaigns led by Sun Yat-sen triggered a new upsurge in the Chinese people's patriotic struggle marked by the 1911 revolution. It was of great significance that part of the intellectuals and laboring masses roused themselves and overthrew the Qing dynasty which was a tool of the foreigners to rule over China. However, it failed to shake the imperialist forces, and the removal of a Qing emperor only led to the appearance of a number of big or small warlords and emperors such as Yuan Shikai. The Chinese national bourgeoisie was too weak and lacked the strength to win victory in the struggle against imperialism and feudalism. It could not achieve even a modest capitalist revolution like the one in Mexico in

the West then or like the one in Turkey in the East later. History was ruthless in declaring this conclusion to the whole world.

The Chinese Communist Party, the pioneer of the Chinese proletariat, has held high the banner of patriotism, carried on and developed the cause of Sun Yat-sen and other patriotic revolutionary forerunners and led the people to carry on the struggle. Thirty-eight years after the 1911 revolution and 24 years after the death of Sun Yat-sen, the people finally removed imperialism and feudalism, the two mountains on their backs. Chinese history has resumed its course of independent development. The entry of China into the stage of socialism was the inevitable result of this independent development. Up to that time, the patriotic struggle at the stage of democratic revolution had completed its historical task.

(This article is part of an article originally published in issue No 3 of JINDAI SHI YANJIU [MODERN HISTORICAL STUDIES], entitled "Sun Yat-sen--a Great Patriot and Democrat." For republication, the wording was slightly changed and abridged.)

CSO: 4004/3

CORRECTION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 81 p 18

[Text] Lines 22-23 on page 45 in issue No 16 of this year's RED FLAG, which read "in order to prevent the party and state from not changing political color," should read "in order to prevent the party and state from changing political color."

CSO: 4004/3

THE YUGOSLAV PEOPLE ARE ADVANCING ALONG THE SOCIALIST ROAD

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 81 pp 19-24

[Article by Xiong Fu [4574 1788]]

[Text] Recently, we, a delegation from the RED FLAG journal, paid a friendly visit to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia at the invitation of the General Office of KOMUNIST, the weekly of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. During our short stay in Yugoslavia, we were enthusiastically and warmly received by Yugoslav comrades everywhere, and we saw with our own eyes the great achievements of the Yugoslav laboring people in their socialist construction and were deeply moved by the creative spirit of the Yugoslav party and people in their socialist practices. This deeply impressed us.

Constant Development of Autonomous Systems in Practice

When we landed at the airport in Belgrade, it was already 11 pm in Beijing but in Belgrade it was only 4 pm. When we drove into the city, what caught our eyes were the rows of tall buildings, the busy stream of various kinds of private cars and the magnificent commercial centers.... These gave us a real view of the prosperity of the modern "white city." It is said that in Yugoslavia the average housing allowance throughout the country is 14 square meters per person, and there is a private car for every 3 families and a television set for every 2 families. How have such miracles been brought about in an economically backward country which suffered prolonged foreign rule and subjugation by foreign powers? What is the cause of this profound mystery? The establishment of the socialist system and especially the autonomous systems, which have been gradually developed and set up through trial and error in socialist practice in Yugoslavia and which suit its national conditions, have played a critical role in its economic development.

The socialist system in Yugoslavia was established in 1945. The Yugoslav people flexibly applied under the historical conditions of Yugoslavia the Marxist principle of "replacing the economic conditions that enslave labor with the conditions of freely associated labor," and started to set up autonomous systems in 1950. In general, the autonomous systems in Yugoslavia have passed through three stages: The first stage was from 1950 to 1963, during which they were mainly restricted to workers' direct participation in management of the production of enterprises. This stage was called "workers' autonomy" for short. The second stage was from 1963 to 1970. During this period, autonomy exceeded the

bounds of factories and enterprises and was applied to state organs and institutions of social undertakings. This stage was generally called the stage of "social autonomy." The third stage, from 1971 to the present, is the stage in which the different autonomous bodies carry out associated labor in accordance with what is required to develop their production. During this stage, a set of relatively integrated socialist autonomous systems that permeate all fields of social life in Yugoslavia have been established. The greatest feature of this set of systems lies in that it brings into play the initiative of localities, enterprises and individuals and coordinates activities. Thus, it has accelerated the development of socialist construction.

In the Republic of Slovenia, we visited the Novo Mesto district, one of the richest districts in Yugoslavia. It is the third largest district of the more than 60 districts in Slovenia. It has a history of over 3,000 years and is rich in glorious revolutionary traditions. During the war years, its population was only 7,000, which has now grown to 55,000. The autonomous system is almost perfect in this district, and it has more interprofessional, interdistrict or even international enterprises of "associated labor." The Kirka pharmaceutical factory, named after the Kirka River, is the second biggest pharmaceutical factory in Yugoslavia and also an almost perfect example of an "associated labor" enterprise. Two of its workshops are in a fraternal republic, and the part of it in this district consists of a number of "basic organizations of associated labor." This district pays great attention to carrying out joint ventures with foreign countries. Its motor works is a joint venture with France, and it also has a workshop in Belgium. Moreover, it has exploited the natural advantage of its rich resource of primeval forests, which cover two-thirds of its area, to set up timber enterprises of "associated labor," which mainly manufacture furniture for export. Along with the establishment of the autonomous systems characterized by "associated labor," the economy in this district has developed greatly.

The "Bekobel" agricultural and food processing enterprise of "associated labor," which we visited in Belgrade, is praised as the "great kitchen of Belgrade." The population of Belgrade is 1.3 million. This enterprise supplies more than 90 percent of the population's food, including processed meat, candy, pastry, jam and marmalade, wine, bread, vegetables and fruit. It was built on a stretch of moorland, and owing to the establishment of autonomous systems, it was built without any financial aid from the state and has been gradually developed solely by utilizing the funds it has accumulated. These funds have been raised from the profit it earned as an independent accounting entity through the hard labor of its staff and workers. Through over 30 years of hard struggle and industrious labor, its land has been expanded from over 4,000 acres to over 100,000 acres; in addition to agricultural production, it has set up dozens of factories for processing grains, meats and milk, refining sugar and brewing wine. It has become a modern enterprise with 240,000 workers and over 3,000 technicians and engineers, producing dozens of different products.

Owing to the establishment of autonomous systems, all socialist-owned enterprises assume sole responsibility for their profits or losses. In their distribution systems, the principle of "to each according to his labor" is put into effect. In addition to a basic rate fixed for each worker according to his labor ability,

there is a flexible rate of remuneration according to the results of his labor. This rate is calculated as a "percentage." Thus, the personal income of a worker is determined not only by the quantity and quality of his labor but also by the level of the management of his enterprise. As a result, wherever we went, we saw people working hard and were impressed by the fact that, whether talking or walking they are constantly concerned about time. Many of them not only work hard in their normal work hours, but also take on part-time jobs in their spare time. Generally, a 5-day work week has been instituted in the organizations and enterprises in Yugoslavia and the work hours for each day are from 7 am to 2:30 pm (with a break of half an hour). This makes everybody's spare time relatively longer and more concentrated, and together with a good transportation system, creates favorable conditions for rural and urban workers to take part-time jobs in their spare time. For example, the staff and workers living in rural areas can be engaged in agricultural and sideline production at home after their work hours, and those who live in urban areas can sell small articles of daily use. Some go to the seacoast to catch fish or work for tour services. The personnel in organizations and the professors in colleges usually "cooperate" with outside units and, under contracts, render their "services" to society in their spare time and thereby obtain a certain remuneration.

Naturally, the autonomous systems in Yugoslavia are still being continuously perfected and developed. At the third congress of the representatives of autonomous systems, held not long ago, while confirming the tremendous achievements in various fields over the many years since the establishment of autonomous systems, the representatives publicly pointed out the difficulties and problems they had encountered in the course of implementing autonomous systems. At the congress, resolutions were unanimously passed on major economic and political issues, such as laborers directly controlling all income, expanding reproduction, perfecting distribution according to labor, expanding coordination between labor organizations, looking forward to the prospect of social development and stabilizing the economy. We are confident that under the guidance of the resolutions of the congress, the Yugoslav workers will surely overcome the difficulties facing them and will more firmly march on the road of healthy development.

Workers Have Become the Masters of Society

In Yugoslavia, workers have truly become the masters of society. The continuous development and perfection of its socialist autonomous systems has enhanced the power of the workers as masters. Yugoslav workers enjoy the right to participate not only in the management of the economy but also in the management of their society and country.

In the first place, the workers are the masters of their enterprises. In Yugoslavia, the highest institution of power in an enterprise is its workers' congress. The workers' congress elects by secret ballot a workers' committee to be the organ of management. In an enterprise of less than 30 workers, a workers' committee is not set up because its function is exercised by all the workers of the enterprise. Neither the chairman nor the members of the workers' committee can be cadres who are not engaged in production. Nor can they be in charge of social political organizations (including the Communist League, the Youth League or the trade union) in an enterprise. The appointment process for the manager

and deputy manager of an associated labor organization begins with the personnel committee of the enterprise inviting all qualified applicants to submit applications. The committee then investigates the applicants and draws up a list of candidates and sends it to the workers' committee, which in turn selects the successful candidates. If a manager or other persons in charge of management prove to be incompetent or commit mistakes, the workers' committee has the right to dismiss them, according to regulations. Subject to the approval of the department concerned, the duties and power of a manager are to carry out the resolutions and decisions of the workers' congress, to coordinate and organize production, to suggest business policies and to implement measures. Decisions on all major issues in an enterprise will have no effect or be of a binding nature unless they are made by the workers' congress or its executive organ, the workers' committee. The social political organizations in an enterprise, including the Communist League, the Youth League and the trade union, might play an important role but they have no right to decide who will be a member of the workers' congress or workers' committee. Members of these two bodies are chosen by the workers themselves through elections. In Yugoslavia, this system is carried out not only in production but also in nonproductive departments. Thus the rights of workers as masters are guaranteed.

Workers are also the masters of society. Social and economic life is an integrated organism. The production sectors should not only set up labor-capital associations, but should also exchange labor with nonproductive sectors (such as science, technology, culture, education, public health, sanitation and other social undertakings). This means that the social sectors provide labor services and the production sectors provide funds to form a mutual relationship of labor exchange. Belgrade's Zgong Island, which we visited, is an example of an autonomous community of common interest formed in accordance with the principle of autonomy. It was there that we saw singing and dancing performances and a bicycle competition and visited a natural "swimming pool," stadium, amusement park and rowing club. The recreation facilities and cultural activities on this island obtained their operating funds from the industrial and mining enterprises located there, and the labor the island needs comes from the service departments concerned. Both the enterprises and the departments concerned appoint their representatives to form a joint management committee to discuss and make decisions on major issues. This kind of structure has been set up in various fields such as schools, hospitals, parks and recreation and sport facilities. This has enlarged the workers' right to autonomy, because they can decide not only how to distribute all the income within their own production sectors but also how to use that part of the funds transferred to society. At the same time, workers are also the masters of the state. In line with the development of autonomous systems in the economic field, political democracy in Yugoslavia has also developed greatly. Since 1974, its parliamentary system has been reformed from a representative system into a delegational one under which citizens in the basic organizations of associated labor and local communities elect their own delegations and the delegations elect a certain number of delegates to take part in the work of the parliaments at various levels. Thus they exercise their right to run the country. The greatest feature of this system of delegations and the feature that makes it different from the representative system is that it provides a better way to resolve the relationship between the representatives and their voters. The delegates live among the masses and can promptly report to their

delegations the problems discussed in the parliaments, and the delegations can listen to the opinions of the workers and bring them to the parliaments for discussion. This system guarantees the people's right to independently decide and elect their delegates so that the delegates elected by the people really represent the interests of the people. It is also provided that no one can be reelected in succession to be a member of the same delegation. Thus, the delegational system is more democratic and has more of a mass nature than the representative system.

While developing socialist democracy, Yugoslavia emphasizes unity and centralism on the basis of socialist autonomy. All chief editors of the editorial departments of the newspapers and magazines we visited told us that the way to handle the relationships between democracy and centralism and between decentralization and unity is one of the problems that they always concern themselves with and discuss. Not long ago, in order to "stabilize the economy," the draft of the "expanded reproduction and past labor act," in which there were provisions opposing the tendencies of localism, decentralism and nationalism and provisions demanding the respect for unified interests and the realization of true unity was passed. Of course, intensification of unity does not mean a return to the old road of a high degree of centralism but rather a true unity on the basis of autonomy.

It Still Depends on the Predominance of Marxism

During our visit, the Yugoslav comrades told us that in the course of carrying out socialist autonomy at home and adhering to the policy of nonalignment, they have inevitably encountered pressures from various sides. Predominant among these has been ideological pressure. This has been aggravated by their early implementation of the open-door policy and the hundreds of thousands of their people employed abroad. As a result, diverse international ideological trends have inevitably continued to filter into the country. At home, there are also a few opposition factions and national groups who always seek opportunities to create trouble and sabotage social stability. Under such complicated conditions, the answer given by our Yugoslav comrades is: We depend not only on our socialist practices but also on the predominance of Marxism to resist the impact and pressure of bourgeois ideology.

Our hosts, the comrades in the General Office of the weekly KOMUNIST, gave us a special introduction to the activities of the Communist League of Yugoslavia in this respect. KOMUNIST is the official newspaper of the Communist League of Yugoslavia and most of its readers are the members of the league. They also publish two theoretical magazines: SOCIALISM (geared for internal consumption) and SOCIALIST IDEOLOGY AND PRACTICE (geared for external consumption). Great emphasis has been put on the predominance of Marxism in the propaganda of these journals. The predominance of Marxism means striving for the ascendancy of Marxism in the ideological field. The Communist League of Yugoslavia requires that, in carrying out ideological and political work among the masses, the "four pillars" of socialist practice must be adhered to, namely, national unity, social autonomy, defense by the whole people and the policy of nonalignment. In this respect, they are very strict in their requirements in the ideological and theoretical fields. A publishing committee for all major newspapers and journals

has been set up in the Central Committee and in all the republican committees of the Communist League of Yugoslavia. Among the members of the committees are members of the Central Presidium, representatives of public groups and naturally the "collective editors," that is, the members of the editorial committees of the editorial departments. They play their roles as institutions of social autonomy and hold meetings at regular intervals to define policies and principles, criticize their work in the past and suggest tasks for the future. Thus they put public media under the supervision of the society and the league and prevent the ideological monopoly of any individual or group. Both newspapers and journals must carry out propaganda according to the policies of the Communist League of Yugoslavia. They are not allowed to propagate bourgeois ideology or to publish anything which deviates from the socialist road, violates the four pillars or opposes the Communist League of Yugoslavia.

Research in, and study of, Marxism is not only the task of members of the Communist League of Yugoslavia, but also an important part of the social activities of Yugoslav workers. We visited the "Socialist Research Center" of Yugoslavia, which was set up in 1969 in accordance with a resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist League of Yugoslavia. At first, the main task of this "center" was to convene a meeting of the various research institutes and party schools to jointly make a list of research problems in accordance with the political tasks laid down by the Central Committee and then organize units and individuals to write on these problems. Later, "Marxism research centers" were set up in every republic and autonomous province and even in some districts and industrial and mining enterprises. These "centers" carry out three main types of activity: First, in accordance with the tasks laid down by the Central Committee of the Communist League of Yugoslavia, they make research plans which combine theory with practice, coordinate the theoretical research of various departments, and hold discussion meetings, report meetings and roundtable meetings (international discussion meetings) at regular or irregular intervals. Second, they help the organizations of the Communist League of Yugoslavia at all levels to develop their Marxist propaganda and education in close combination with practice, help the party schools to make plans, examine teaching programs and supply and publish textbooks. Third, besides publishing Marxist classics, they publish books on Marxist theory. The "research centers" of the central committees of the Communist League of Yugoslavia and its republics publish their own journals. For example, the "Socialist Research Center" of the Central Committee of Yugoslavia publishes two journals: SOCIALISM IN THE WORLD and MARXISM IN THE WORLD. This combines theoretical research with actual work and gives a mass nature to the propagation and study of Marxism.

The Central Committee of the Communist League of Yugoslavia attaches great importance to the Marxist education of its members, especially the party cadres and active elements, and often holds training courses at regular intervals for groups of party cadres and party activists. While in Yugoslavia, we also visited the Kumlovich Central Political School (the central party school) of the Communist League of Yugoslavia and the Central Political School of the Communist League of the Republic of Croatia. The length of their courses are the same: 1 year. They differ in that the students in the central party school attend their courses full time while those in the republic party school attend part time. Their educational policy is to proceed from the socialist practice in Yugoslavia and study

Marxism and the revolutionary experiences both at home and abroad so as to raise the consciousness of the league members in carrying out the policies of the Central Committee of the Communist League of Yugoslavia.

Moreover, the Communist League of Yugoslavia attaches great importance to the education of people on inheriting their historical and cultural legacy and on carrying forward their glorious revolutionary tradition. During our visit to Yugoslavia we were deeply impressed by the fact that it is a heroic country with a glorious history and revolutionary traditions. Wherever we went, in conference halls, in parks or in the streets there were statues of well-known historical figures and heroes for people to pay their respects to. In nearly every district, there was a building commemorating the local revolutionary struggle and heroic deeds. Especially popular with visitors are the former residence of Josip Broz Tito, historical exhibition halls, revolutionary museums and military museums, where there is always a steady flow of visitors. The Communist League of Yugoslavia also puts great emphasis on providing youngsters with a traditional and ideological education. It often organizes meetings at which veterans give talks to the youngsters and also organizes voluntary labor service camps and other activities for youngsters. These all play a great role in helping youngsters to grow up in a healthy way.

The Decisive Role of the Communist League in the Life of the State

The Communist League of Yugoslavia was originally called the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, but its name was changed in 1952. During the antifascist liberation war from 1941 to 1945, it made great sacrifices, and 9,000 of its 12,000 members gloriously gave their lives for the cause of the people's liberation. This is an historical contribution by the party that the Yugoslav people will never forget. The Communist League of Yugoslavia now has 2 million members, about 9 percent of the 22.15 million population of the whole country. This means that there is nearly 1 member for every 10 persons. The league has already become the mainstay of the socialist cause in Yugoslavia.

What role does the league play in the social, economic and political life of the state? The resolution of its sixth national congress in 1952 pointed out that the league "in doing its work, is not and cannot be the direct and practical leader and manager in organizing the life of the state and society, but it should rely on its own political and ideological activities and adopt, first of all, methods of persuasion to make its stand and line acceptable to all institutions and organizations." Later, in a series of programs and resolutions, it emphasized that the league is not in charge of actual management (separation of the party and the government), but that it is still the vanguard of the proletariat. It represents the interests of the working class and all workers and shoulders the main responsibility for, and plays the decisive role in, the development of society. In practical work, the league does not order the masses of people about, but persuades them by putting forth the correct line and correct policies. Through the force of its arguments and the example of its members' actions, it strives for implementation of its line.

During our talks with the Central Committee of the Communist League of the Republic of Slovenia, the Yugoslav comrades emphasized the guiding role of ideology and

politics. They thought that the basic party organizations which have been set up in the basic organizations of associated labor should, if they wish to do their work successfully, be organized on the basis of autonomous organizations. What they meant by the guiding role of ideology and politics was a reliance on the party's correct line, the example of its members' actions and the force of its arguments to influence the masses instead of a reliance on the party's prestige to order the masses about. Major issues related to the organization of associated labor can only be decided by the workers' congress or their executive institution--the workers' committee. However, this in no way means that the league shoulders no responsibilities. The league represents the interests of the working class and all workers. Therefore, if the workers' congress of a labor organization makes a decision against the interests of the state and the majority of the masses of people, the league organization in that labor organization will be responsible for it and if it is a serious case, the league organization will receive disciplinary punishment or even be dissolved. Thus, in order to fulfill their tasks, the party organizations and their members should vigorously do their work among the masses and use the party's correct line to influence the masses so as to ensure that a correct decision will be made. Precisely for this reason the chairman of the Communist League in Novo Mesto said humorously, "Our power is very small, but our responsibility is very great."

In regard to the relations between the organizations of the league and other organizations, the resolutions of the league organizations are only binding on their members and they have no right to make decisions for other organizations. But the league should play a coordinating role between other organizations mainly through sending its representatives to visit and through the influence of its own members in these organizations. For instance, a district assembly in Yugoslavia consists of three chambers: the chamber of associated labor, the chamber of the local community, and the chamber of social and political organizations. The chamber of social and political organizations plays the most important role of the three, because the Communist League plays a decisive role in it. In other autonomous interest groups, such as those in the scientific, cultural, educational and public health circles, the league's correct line and policies are carried out solely through the role played by its own members in them, that is, by their exemplary actions and by persuasion. The secretary of a district league committee said to us, "We have more than 100 basic units, but everywhere we have our members working actively. Therefore, we need not worry that the party's line will not be carried out."

Here, the important point is the exemplary role of league members. When we were visiting the port of Rose and Postojna district, appraisals were being made of league members. During the appraisals, every member had to report how he had carried out the directives and resolutions of the league and he had to carry out criticism and self-criticism. If any member was found to have failed to take part in the work, committed mistakes or failed to pay league membership dues, he was punished. If his case was not serious, his mistakes were pointed out to him and he was not criticized; this was recorded in his file. If it was serious, he was either warned, discharged from his post or expelled from the league, and this was recorded in his file. If he later reformed, the punishment would be suspended and those who had been expelled could be readmitted. Thus, the organizations of the league rely on such criticism and appraisals to retain their vigor and revolutionary combat effectiveness.

During our stay in Yugoslavia, everywhere we heard people enthusiastically praise the league. This is because the league has led the people of all nationalities in seizing state power and uniting the country through armed struggle and made the workers the masters of their country. The league has also greatly improved the material and spiritual lives of the workers in a relatively short period. The Yugoslav comrades told us with full confidence that, although they are faced with quite a few difficulties and problems, some of which are relatively serious, they are certain that no difficulties can hinder their advance and the problems that have emerged can be solved. They are determined to march forward along their unique socialist road, which they are exploring themselves, to reach their final goal.

CSO: 4004/3

THE LAST BREAKOUT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 81 pp 25-31

[Article by Chen Pixian [7115 0012 7359]]

[Text] "Flames of battle raging everywhere, gunfire pounding loudly; deep was our emotion when we reluctantly parted from the Red capital. Breaking out of thousands of encirclements, we marched steadfastly toward Youshan."

It happened more than 40 years ago. Whenever I recall our last breakout from the central revolutionary base, this emotion-filled poem written that year by Comrade Cai Huiwen, commander of the south Jiangxi provincial military area, will ring in my ears, so that I cannot help thinking deeply of those revolutionaries of the older generation and those comrades-in-arms with whom I took part in the breakout.

I

Because of the erroneous leadership of leftist adventurism, the fifth campaign against the enemy's "encirclement and suppression" was defeated. In October 1934, the main force of the Red Army was forced to withdraw from the central revolutionary base and embark on the Long March of over 25,000 li. Those Red Army forces and local troops who stayed behind continued to struggle tenaciously against the enemy forces which encircled the central revolutionary base. However, we were far inferior in strength to the enemy. Moreover, in their military orientation, our troops could not free themselves from the influence of erroneous leftist adventurism and continued to adhere to the policy of large-formation warfare without opportunely planning for and launching guerrilla warfare. Consequently, our front gradually diminished until we were pinned down in the small Renfeng area at the juncture of Ganzhou and Yudu.

In February 1935, various troops successively broke out of the encirclement under centralized direction. Finally, there were two units still staying behind in the Renfeng mountain area. One was the 70th Regiment of the Red Army's 24th Division, which was directly under the command of Comrade Xiang Ying, secretary of the central revolutionary base branch bureau and commander and political commissar of the central revolutionary base military area, and Comrade Chen Yi, committee member of the central revolutionary base branch bureau and head of the Central Government Office of the Soviet Republic of China. The other unit was our south Jiangxi provincial party, administrative and military bodies with the 6th

Independent Regiment. In addition, there were more than 2,000 seriously wounded army men. At that time, the enemy encircled us on all sides with a force more than 30 times larger than ours, thus reinforcing its ring of encirclement. The situation became increasingly more critical.

Before the final breakout of the two units, we had to do a good job of evacuating the seriously wounded personnel. However, this work was very difficult. Because Comrade Chen Yi was also one of the wounded, Comrade Xiang Ying asked him to persuade them to be evacuated. Walking with a cane, Comrade Chen Yi went to the wounded personnel's quarters, and with a heavy heart he said to them: "The central revolutionary base is defeated, but the revolution will not be defeated. The sparks of revolution will not die out and the high tide of revolution will come. This is a dangerous moment, so, comrades, please go home or go to civilian families. You can work as a farmer or guerrilla and come back when the revolution has developed. However, comrades, you must by all means possible take good care of yourselves and remain heroes even in defeat. If by chance you fall into the enemy's hands and have to lay down your life, sacrifice your life and do not turn traitor. So long as some comrades are still living, they will certainly avenge us." The wounded men were deeply moved by his speech. Some said: "So long as the revolution is promising, we will stay behind with our hearts at ease." Others said: "If we can be informed of the real situation, we will surely find ways of dealing with the enemy." Only the strongest fighters could display such a heroic spirit at such a moment of grave danger.

Comrade Chen Yi then sent some men to ask the cadres and masses in the locality to come. Entrusting the wounded personnel to their care, he said: "We beg you to carry these comrades home, hide them and cure their wounds. You may adopt them as your sons or have them marry your daughters. Then your families will have one more man to work and also to take revenge!"

The masses were as close to the Red Army fighters as flesh is to blood. Having listened to Comrade Chen Yi's moving speech, they surged forward to carry the wounded men in their arms or on their backs, treating them as their relatives. In half a day, the more than 2,000 seriously wounded men were all satisfactorily accommodated. Aside from distributing several silver dollars and some medicine to each wounded man, Comrade Chen Yi also sent 5 jin of salt to each household among the masses which accommodated a wounded army man. At that time, salt was very valuable because the enemy's blockade was very tight.

Some time after 1 pm on 3 March, the south Jiangxi provincial military area command sounded the bugle call for emergency muster. I hurriedly ran with others to the forest-covered slope facing the command headquarters to hear a report. Comrades Xiang Ying and Chen Yi briefed the officers and men of our two units, the last to break out, on the situation that faced us and on the direction of breakthrough they had finally chosen after making repeated comparisons. We were to move to the Jiangxi-Guangdong border region with Youshan as the center. There, the enemy was strong but we enjoyed very strong mass support. In the past, the 22d Army had been established there. In November 1934, after the 22d Army had moved into the central revolutionary base, the CCP Jiangxi-Guangdong border region special commission and military subcommand were established there. Comrade Li Letian was the secretary of the special commission and the commanding

officer of the military subcommand. Comrade Yang Shangkui was the deputy secretary of the special commission. They led the guerrilla forces in waging a persistent guerrilla war there. Comrade Chen Yi looked into our faces one by one with deep affection and said calmly: "All cadres and soldiers of the Red Army should be revolutionary heroes and should display even greater heroism in times of difficulty. Real heroes are those who have been tempered by difficulties. Now is the time for us to be tested."

II

On 4 March, our south Jiangxi provincial unit, comprising more than 1,800 men, left the Renfeng mountain area and began to break out. At that time, I was the secretary of the south Jiangxi provincial committee of young communists and also a member of this unit.

Before the breakout, Commander Cai Huiwen told us: "This breakout will be very arduous. The enemy troops along the route from Maling to Guanyingdu belong to the Guangdong army led by Yu Hanmou. Their numerical strength is 5 times ours and they are very well equipped. The places under the tight control of their blockhouses are precisely the places we must pass through. We must force our way through the three major strategic passes of Yunhe, Maling and Niuling. Our troops must pay a high price to get past enemy blockhouse No 3 in Niuling."

Commander Cai decided that some of the men in our unit would be an advance party and ordered the heavy machinegun company to seize a commanding height as soon as they reached Niuling in order to cover the seizure of enemy blockhouse No 3 by the advance party. The personnel of the military area command headquarters, the provincial administrative bodies and the guards company were incorporated into this force. Another group of men was responsible for rearguard action and taking the wounded to the rear.

That afternoon it rained heavily as soon as our unit set out. Having had supper at Libanqiao, our men continued to advance in the night. It was dark and the mountain trail was slippery and difficult to traverse. Some comrades slipped as soon as they had climbed a little way, but no one complained. It was after 3 am when our unit approached Maling. After taking a brief rest and eating some solid food, we prepared for combat.

The fighting started as soon as the light of early dawn appeared in the east. We charged the enemy's blockhouses with heavy fire. The chatter of machineguns and the explosions of grenades were deafening. Powerful as dragons and tigers, the advance party attacked and charged the enemy fiercely and rapidly got through the two strategic passes of Maling and Niuling. However, when that section of our unit which included the provincial party, administrative and army personnel, was passing through Niuling, right after the advance party, they were ambushed by enemy troops. By virtue of their superiority in strength and their many blockhouses, the enemy troops attacked us with a heavy crossfire. Bullets rained fiercely on our men. The enemy troops then swarmed out of the blockhouses and rushed toward our men like mad dogs, cutting our unit in half.

With the enemy troops greatly surpassing ours in numbers, many of our comrades were killed. Our young and handsome commander Cai directed the fighting calmly and resourcefully. He ordered the heavy machinegun company, which had already seized the high ground to the east of Niuling, to attack the enemy on the flank and rear with violent gunfire in order to cover the advance. He also ordered the sniper squad to fire into enemy blockhouse No 3 at an oblique angle from the west and resolutely destroy it.

The sniper squad crept forward and climbed up the slope. At a moment when the enemy was looking for targets, they rushed a dozen steps forward and quickly approached the blockhouse. A soldier named Tang Dapao thrust two grenades which were tied together into blockhouse No 3. When the thunder of the explosion died down, the blockhouse was completely silent. However, when the enemy fought back, he was killed by bullets. The enemy then began to be aware of the serious threat to his flank and fired fiercely at the gaps in the No 3 blockhouse with machineguns and rifles. Bullets landed like a swarm of locusts around us. We followed Commander Cai, sometimes hitting the ground and sometimes advancing. Suddenly, he raised his arm, waved to the west and gave this order: "Charge in this direction, charge quickly!" The soldiers followed the direction pointed out by Commander Cai, fought their way out by shedding their blood and risking their lives, and then used the concentrated fire of machineguns and rifles to help the oncoming troops break out.

At this juncture, Comrade Liu Bojian, director of the south Jiangxi provincial military area political department, was wounded. Being big and tall, he was a prominent target. Moreover, he was riding a horse, thus attracting greater attention from the enemy. His horse was wounded first. He quickly leaped from it, led the comrades to fire fiercely at the enemy, and dashed past the blockhouses Nos 1 and 3 in one vigorous effort. Unfortunately, when they had rushed past Maling and Niuling and reached Daduan, his left leg was hit by a stray bullet and he could not walk. His bodyguard was about to support him so that he could walk, but before he could place Comrade Liu Bojian's arms on his shoulders, he was hit by a bullet and fell. Comrade Liu Bojian shot at the enemy troops swarming toward him. Finally, his ammunition was exhausted and he fell into the clutches of the enemy.

At dusk the sounds of the guns gradually died down and became only sporadic. After a day of vigorous fighting and rapid march, Maling and Niuling were far behind us.

It was dark and rain was still falling. Judging from the direction of the wind and rain and reading the compass by its weak fluorescent light, Commander Cai determined the march route. I followed on his heels. Fortunately, he was tall and big and his figure was faintly visible. I followed him. When it was nearly dawn, the troops reached a dense forest and Commander Cai ordered the men to halt and take a rest. All our clothes were wet, our stomachs rumbled with hunger, and we felt chilled to the bone.

At daybreak, Comrade Yu Hu, the bodyguard of Comrade Yuan Xiaoxian, secretary of the south Jiangxi provincial party committee and political commissar of the south Jiangxi provincial military area command, came rushing up through the

narrow mountain track. With tears in his eyes, he reported to Commander Cai that Comrade Yuan Xiaoxian had died a martyr in the Battle of Niuling. Commander Cai gazed into the distance with a somber countenance and said in a low voice: "A loyal man's bones are buried in a sacred place, and his noble spirit fills the universe as the rainbow spans the sky. Comrade Yuan Xiaoxian and the martyrs who died gloriously have parted with us forever. Let them stay in the land of the revolutionary base! They will live forever in our hearts."

Comrade Yuan Xiaoxian had joined the Communist Party in 1921. He was one of our party's oldest members. During the first move toward cooperation between the Kuomintang and the CCP, he was a teacher of politics at the Guangzhou Institute for Training in Peasant Movements. He participated in the leadership over the mighty peasant movements in Guangdong. He had been an alternate member of the CCP Central Committee, a member of the CCP Central Committee, a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Republic of China, and a chairman of the Auditing Committee of the CCP Central Committee. Braving untold dangers, he had worked for the party without evading difficulties or dangers until he finally sacrificed his precious life.

After several days and nights of fighting, of the 1,800 and more members of our unit, only some 80 had survived. I said to Commander Cai: "You have changed from an area commander into a company commander." He stared at me with resolution in his eyes and grinned.

Having broken out of the enemy's numerous encirclements, we marched at night and slept during the day, proceeding along the mountain ranges near the bank of the Taojiang River. These were places where the White area and the guerrilla area met. Everywhere there were the blockhouses of reactionary landlords. "Organizations for defense and restoration of order" were blocking our way ahead, and the strong enemy was chasing and attacking us from behind. Commander Cai directed the troops to stay clear of the enemy's main force and strike at his weak points, to cross over mountain after mountain and march to the southwest.

Dawn was approaching. We heard the crowing of cocks in the distance. After descending from mountain tracks along steep slopes onto flat land, we felt much more comfortable. A scout returned with a report that the Taojiang River was not far away.

To prevent the Red Army from crossing the river, the Kuomintang reactionaries had tried to destroy all the ferries. Helped by some natives of the countryside, with great difficulty we found several ferries and smoothly crossed the Taojiang River, arriving in the Jiangxi-Guangdong border region. Commander Cai surveyed both banks of the Taojiang River and then looked up at the sky and read aloud a poem that had formed in his mind:

In March we cross the Tao River, its waters flowing onward forever; our men's hunger and our horses' fatigue are nothing to speak of, the will of our men strong as iron; passing barriers and slaughtering the enemy, we fill them with fear and wreck the thousands of encirclements set up by the rascals; pointing and gazing at Youshan, we hail the impending union, like that of winds and clouds!

Our troops stopped to rest at a small mountain cottage near the Ganxin highway. After several days of marching and fighting, the soldiers were thoroughly exhausted. Throwing themselves on the ground, they instantly slept so soundly that "as snoring began, they were carried to a dreamland far, far away."

When they awoke, the sun was already high in the sky. They raised their heads and found Commander Cai walking to and fro in the yard outside the house and looking around frequently. He was standing guard duty himself without caring about fatigue!

I silently approached him and said softly: "You should also take a rest!"

"Comrade Pi, we will be able to contact the Dalong area party committee. Yu Hu has gone out to establish contacts." His expression showed gladness. It seemed he had not heard what I said. He was only intent on telling me that piece of encouraging information.

After a while, Yu Hu came up with the comrade in charge of the Dalong area party committee. Commander Cai and I had a meeting with him. He pointed at the mountains and told us: "Those high mountains are Youshan, the base of our heroic guerrilla fighters! It takes only 2 days to get to the central region of Youshan." He also said cordially: "Here is the border of the guerrilla area and we have supporters among the masses here. They have already brought us some food."

It was true. Soon afterward, we were eating the rice, gruel and sweet potatoes supplied by the masses. We had been suffering from hunger for several days, and so the food seemed to be particularly delicious.

After a night's rest, the troops continued to march at dawn the next day. We crossed the Ganxin highway and entered Chang'an district. There were always traffic control personnel and members of the masses to show us the way. Scaling mountains, wading through water, marching at night and sleeping in the day, we advanced toward Youshan district in the Jiangxi-Guangdong border region. On the way, Commander Cai improvised the following poem entitled "Record of the Breakout and March":

The spring cold was intense as the strong enemy chased us. We marched in the night across valleys in dim moonlight. In dense woods and deep tunnels, the enemy was frightened and unable to tell west from east. The mountains were reddened with blood, yet our soldiers were exhilarated. With nothing to fill their stomachs except wind and dew, we still had a will that filled the heaven like a rainbow. Stones were our pillows as we slept amid cogon grass when tired, intoxicated by the spring wind!

One afternoon, we finally reached Youshan and met the comrades who had been fighting persistently there. Although all of us were covered with the stains of battle fire, our faces and eyes still shone with the radiance of resolution and victory. The comrades eagerly came forward to take our things and carry them for us. They enthusiastically asked questions as we walked along. Tears sparkled in the eyes of many comrades. The masses nearby stopped working and swarmed toward us to express their warm welcome.

In the deepening shade of dusk, our troops came to a dense forest. The offices of the Jiangxi-Guangdong border region special commission were in several houses under the shade of pines and bamboos. Comrades of the special commission, such as Secretary Li Letian, Deputy Secretary Yang Shangkui, Secretary of the Special Commission's Young Communists Liu Xinchao and so on, enthusiastically received us near the special commission offices. We were particularly delighted to see leading comrades such as Xiang Ying and Chen Yi in the special commission office and to see Comrade Zeng Jicai! We firmly grasped each other's hands and patted each other on the shoulders, with warmth surging in our hearts. In the days since we had left the Renfeng mountain area, I had always been worrying about the safety of the leading comrades such as Xiang Ying, Chen Yi and so on, but they had arrived before we did. The worry pressing on my heart like a huge stone was immediately gone. I had thousands of words to say to them. However, because I was too excited, I could not say them at that moment, as if there was a lump in my throat. Comrades Xiang Ying and Chen Yi cordially extended their regards to us. Comrade Chen Yi also said with a heroic spirit: "The Kuomintang is bragging that they wiped us out in the Renfeng mountain area! Ha, we are here talking in Youshan!" All of us were infected by his revolutionary optimism and the house was filled with the joy of triumph.

III

It was then that we learned how Comrades Xiang Ying, Chen Yi and so on had managed to break out. They and Comrade He Chang with the personnel of the branch bureau of the CCP Central Committee, the office of the CCP Central Committee and the central revolutionary base military area command, as well as the 70th Regiment of the 24th Red Army, were the last group to leave the Renfeng mountain area after our south Jiangxi provincial unit had broken out.

Before their breakout, there were enemy troops on all sides and sounds of guns everywhere. The situation was very dangerous. However, Comrades Xiang Ying and Chen Yi still decided, first of all, to send a telegram to the CCP Central Committee to report the situation in the central revolutionary base and the plan for the troops' breakout in groups.

At 1 pm on 4 March, the troops ready for the last breakout fell in. However, by 3 pm the radio still had not given the signal. The radio operator sweated with anxiety. Comrade He Chang was very impatient and set off first with two battalions. Shortly after their departure, they were ambushed by enemy troops and were dispersed. Later, Comrade He Chang moved to Shihan village in Huichang, assembled the scattered troops and bravely crossed the Huichang River. However, as soon as they landed on the opposite bank, they were encircled by enemy troops lying in ambush. They fought for a long time but could not break out. Comrade He Chang was seriously wounded. The enemy gradually drew near and yelled that they wanted to take prisoners alive. Comrade He Chang loudly shouted the slogan "Long live the Red Army," and shot himself with the last bullet in his gun. Comrade He Chang was a great proletarian fighter. He had been elected a member of the Central Committee at both the fifth and sixth national congresses of the party. He had also been the deputy director of the General Political Department of the Red Army, a member of the central revolutionary base branch bureau and the director of the political department of the central revolutionary base military area command. He was only 29 when he died a martyr.

The radio was chattering and time was running out. It began to get dark. Comrades Xiang Ying and Chen Yi remained all the time at the radio. It was past 4 pm but the radio still did not give the signal. The troops were waiting anxiously and they could hear the enemy's shots at the foot of Renfeng mountain.

At 5 pm the radio suddenly gave a strong signal and radio communications were finally established! The radio signals were thick and fast. The plan for the breakout was reported to the CCP Central Committee, and the Central Committee's reply was received immediately. Unfortunately, because the code had been changed, the message could not be deciphered and the Central Committee's reply could not be understood. Therefore, Comrades Xiang Ying and Chen Yi ordered the radio to be buried and the cipher code burned. From then on, their contact with the Central Committee was discontinued.

In the evening, Comrades Xiang Ying and Chen Yi departed with a battalion. As soon as they started to move out, it began to rain heavily. It was dark and the trails were slippery. The men slipped frequently. After 2 hours of marching, they had covered only 5 li.

With great difficulty, they managed to get to the foot of the mountain. Just as they arrived at a hamlet, they encountered the enemy. Our men, 300 or more, were dispersed. Comrade Xiang Ying was also separated from Comrade Chen Yi. At dawn, the men, now 200 or more, came together again. They dashed in all directions, causing the enemy to go round and round. In the evening, they encountered the enemy and were scattered again. At that time, one man turned traitor. The enemy printed copies of his confession on leaflets and distributed them by plane. The leaflets said: Xiang Ying was shortsighted and could not travel at night, Chen Yi was heavily wounded in the leg and could not walk, and 50,000 silver dollars would be awarded to anyone who captured them.

It was resolved after some study that to lessen the troops' burden and to reduce the target of action under those circumstances, the troops were to be directed by several other comrades. Comrades Xiang Ying and Chen Yi, with a small number of guards, were to break out by themselves.

Comrades Xiang Ying and Chen Yi and others made repeated efforts to break out, but all of the attempts failed. They prepared to hide themselves temporarily at the foot of the mountain. Just then they met a man, who grasped Comrade Chen Yi when he saw him and said: "My leader, oh my leader!" He broke into tears and cried loudly.

The man was Comrade Zeng Jicai. In 1929, when Comrade Chen Yi was organizing the 22d Red Army in the Jiangxi-Guangdong border region, Zeng Jicai was the secretary of the party committee of the Niujiang district in the Jiangxi-Guangdong border region. At that time, he responded to the party's call, took the lead to join the army and mobilized many young men to follow his example. After the 22d Red Army moved to the central revolutionary base, he was appointed secretary of the party committee of the newly formed Daiying County and transferred to that locality.

Comrade Chen Yi told Zeng Jicai not to cry and asked him why he had come to the Renfeng mountain area. He said: "When I was the secretary of Daiying County's party committee, people came to inspect my work and said that I was a right opportunist. After a protracted process of criticism and denunciation, it was said that everything was wrong with me. I was dismissed from my post and sent to carry stretchers in the Red Army as a form of punishment. After 2 or 3 months on my new job, it was said that my performance was rather satisfactory and I was promoted leader of the stretcher bearers' unit. When the main force of the Red Army withdrew from the central revolutionary base, I was told to escort a group of local tyrants and evil gentry to another locality. On the way, some Kuomintang planes bombed us and half of the group of local tyrants and evil gentry escaped. This was disastrous because it was used as further proof that I was a right opportunist. When the Red Army evacuated, the local authorities did not want me. My letter of reference says I am a right opportunist of a serious nature, and so no one is willing to accommodate me. I have been rejected everywhere and soon I will be expelled from the revolutionary ranks."

Comrade Chen Yi asked him why he did not go home. He said: "What can I do if I go home with that letter of reference? The local tyrants and evil gentry in my native county are filled with deep hatred for me. My whole family was killed by the reactionaries and my house was burned down by them. Where can I go if I leave the party and the revolutionary ranks?" He continued: "I heard that after the main force of the Red Army evacuated, you stayed behind. I thought that if I could find you, my veteran leader, I might be able to get you to accommodate me. I went all the way to Ruijin to find you, but the county town of Ruijin had been occupied by the enemy. I heard that my veteran leader had withdrawn to the Renfeng mountain area, and so I have come here with much difficulty. Now at last I have found my veteran leader. If I am to die, I will die in the revolutionary ranks."

Comrade Chen Yi comforted him, saying: "The central revolutionary base has been defeated. We will sum up the lessons of our experiences in the future. Now that we are in this situation, you should not mind what has happened to you. Let us fight together as guerrillas from now on."

Comrade Zeng Jicai's eyes shone with honesty and zeal. He said affectionately: "We must not blame others for mistakes in the revolution. How can the special commission and the county party committee be absolutely correct? The central revolutionary base is lost and this is a bitter experience. I should not come to get the wrongs done to me redressed. We must remedy our defeat. I hope that we will sum up the experience in the future."

Comrade Chen Yi tenderly touched and looked at this good comrade who, for the revolution's sake, had worked hard, had not been upset by criticism and was ready to brave untold dangers. He said lovingly: "Of course. I cannot speak on behalf of our party's Central Committee. However, I will tell the Central Committee that you are not a right opportunist."

Comrades Xiang Ying and Chen Yi briefed him on their plan for the breakout and asked him whether he knew the local region well. He replied that he did. It would be dangerous to cross the river directly. He was sure that they could

safely make a detour to the upper reaches of the river and cross it there in secret.

That night Comrade Zeng Jicai led Comrades Xiang Ying and Chen Yi and other men along the route from the Renfeng mountain area to Youshan.

At that time, the enemy was all over Renfeng mountain area. For safety Xiang Ying and Chen Yi hid in the mountain for a day until the enemy troops began to withdraw. Then they descended the mountain, mixed with a group of common people who were going carrying goods on shoulder poles to a market, crossed the Taojiang River secretly and arrived at the ferry crossing point of Wangmudu. Comrade Zeng Jicai's home county was near Wangmudu and he wanted to go home and see how things were. Comrades Xiang Ying and Chen Yi asked him whether his family had been slaughtered by the Kuomintang. He said that his mother-in-law was still alive. They all agreed that he should go to see her and were willing to accompany him. That evening the men started out, walked in the dark over more than 10 li and arrived at her house. Zeng Jicai knocked at the door and said he had just come from the eastern side of the river. However, she did not answer even though he knocked for a long time. He could do nothing but ask her to see him the next morning at a secret place, out of consideration for her martyred daughter.

At dawn on the next day, Zeng Jicai's mother-in-law, carrying a bamboo basket and glancing to her right and left, gingerly came at the secret rendezvous. Seeing that no one had followed her, Zeng Jicai came out to greet her. When she met her son-in-law, she wept and told him that since the main force of the Red Army had evacuated, Kuomintang soldiers often came knocking on ordinary people's doors at night, pretending they were Red Army soldiers who had returned. If anyone opened the door, the whole family would be killed. She said that although she had recognized his voice the night before, she was afraid of a trick and did not open the door although several times had she wanted to. Then Zeng Jicai let her see Xiang Ying and Chen Yi. She told them not to come out in the daytime and that they could sleep in her house at night. Then she left them the basket of food and silently went home.

That night they went to her house in the dark and had a full meal. They knew from her that there was a carpenter in the Chang'an market who was a secret party member and was fairly trustworthy. They walked 80 li at one stretch and found the carpenter. Through him they established contact with the underground party organization, which arranged their journey to Youshan. Experiencing numerous difficulties and going in a roundabout way, they finally triumphantly reached Youshan, the center of the Jiangxi-Guangdong border region base. From then on, during the 3-year period of guerrilla war waged in the south, Comrades Xiang Ying and Chen Yi exercised direct leadership over the guerrilla war in the Jiangxi-Guangdong border region base. Youshan became the center of the 14 guerrilla war areas in the eight southern provinces.

IV

When we triumphantly met Comrades Xiang Ying and Chen Yi and other comrades in Youshan, victory cheers were interwoven with a deep grief in our hearts. No one would forget that when our south Jiangxi provincial breakout unit set out, it

consisted of more than 1,800 men. By the time we had reached Dalong, only some 80 men were left. Later, when other men arrived in succession at Youshan, the total number of survivors was only a little over 300. The majority of our comrades had been scattered in the fighting or had heroically sacrificed their lives. All of us expressed deep grief over the martyrdom of our comrades. In particular, the death of Comrades Yuan Xiaoxian and He Chang was a great loss to our party and army. With deep affection for his comrades-in-arms, Comrade Chen Yi wrote the following poem entitled "Lamentation Over the Death of Comrades Yuan Xiaoxian and He Chang":

Of our many comrades, Yuan and He were noted for their capability, the fame of Yuan extending over Guangdong and He's name being known by all in Hebei. One did painstaking auditing work and the other was noted for his management of political affairs. Alas! They fought with me to break out, and now I alone survive.

Shortly after we arrived in Youshan, we heard the sad news that Comrade Liu Bojian had sacrificed his life. After he was wounded and captured in the breakout campaign, he rejected the enemy's inducement to capitulate, speaking with the force of justice. The Kuomintang sent him under escort to Dayu. He was sent to the headquarters of the 1st Army of Guangdong and locked up in the Dayu County prison. Later, he was transferred to a room for persons awaiting trial in the enemy's government office for the restoration of peace and order. While he was being transferred from one place of custody to another, he remained calm and dignified as, wearing heavy foot shackles, he went through the main streets. He left behind the following poem entitled "Walking With Shackles," which displayed a heroic spirit that overshadows mountains and rivers:

Walking in the long street with shackles, I stagger step by step. People along the street eagerly fix their eyes on me, but my conscience is free from guilt or shame. I walk in the long street with shackles, the shackles ringing sonorously. People along the street are frightened and surprised, but my heart is peaceful. I walk in the long street with shackles, my dignity continuing to grow. I defy the danger and suffering of imprisonment in the hope that all workers and peasants will be liberated.

The main ingredient of this poem is life. The poem gushed from the author's heart. It is a communist's vehement song of beautiful and magnificent struggle. It is an oath of iron and steel which no force can shake. Now when we read it, we feel as if we see the author himself. His resolute dedication to the cause of communism will ever encourage us to advance!

On 24 March, Comrade Liu Bojian died a martyr at Jinlian Shan in Dayu at the age of 35. He was buried at Meishan in Guangdong. He had joined the CCP in 1922 while he was participating in the work-study program in France. After his return to China, the party appointed him to be the director of the General Political Department of the Northwest Army led by Mr Feng Yuxiang, and he contributed to the victory of the northern expedition. During the second revolutionary civil war, he was a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Republic of China and the director of the Political Department of the 5th Army Group of the Red Army.

An enormous price was paid for this last breakout. However, it was finally successful. From then on, new pages were opened up one after another in the history of the 3 years of extremely arduous guerrilla war in the south.

ON THE QUESTION OF OUR COUNTRY'S TRANSITION FROM NEW DEMOCRACY TO SOCIALISM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 81 pp 32-38

[Article by Wen Yanmao [5113 1693 5399]]

[Text] The period from the founding of the People's Republic of China in October 1949 to the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production in 1956, was an historical period for the transition from new democracy to socialism in China's society. The "Resolution on Several Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, made an adequate affirmation and scientific appraisal of this transition. A conscientious study of the exposition on this question by the "resolution" will make us understand why our country had to undergo the transition from new democracy to socialism and will make us know the glorious victory achieved in this historical transition led and carried out by our party.

I

With the founding of the PRC, our country ended its history of being a semi-colonial and semifeudal society and entered the period of new democracy. We built a state power of the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class with the worker-peasant alliance as its foundation. We confiscated bureaucrat capital and formed a state sector of the socialist economy which occupied the leading position. We unfolded the three great movements of resisting U.S. aggression and aiding Korea, of carrying out land reform, and of suppressing counterrevolutionaries, and won great victories. We rehabilitated the national economy and then engaged in planned economic construction. All this provided the political and economic conditions and the fundamental guarantee for our country's transition from new democracy to socialism.

Our country's transition from new democracy to socialism was not determined by some individual or some one's will. It was an inevitable trend in our country's historical development and it had deep socioeconomic causes.

After the victory of the new democratic revolution in China, there were five economic sectors. The main sectors were the state sector of the economy, individual economy and private capitalist economy. Between these economic sectors, there were complicated contradictions and struggles. In the final analysis, they

were contradictions and struggles between the working class and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist road and the capitalist road. They were the main contradictions in China's society in this period. The existence, development and correct resolution of these contradictions determined that China's society would inevitably undergo the transition from new democracy to socialism. The general line during the transitional period put forward by the party Central Committee in 1952 according to Comrade Mao Zedong's proposition reflected this historical inevitability. The essence of the general line is to basically transform the private ownership of the means of production into socialist public ownership during industrialization.

The private capitalist economy in our country has always played an active role in developing production, causing the market to flourish and rehabilitating the national economy. But, owing to the role played by the basic laws governing a capitalist economy, there were sharp contradictions and struggles between its production goal of seeking profits and the production goal of the socialist economy of meeting social demands, between its anarchic production and the socialist planned economy, and between its economic activities and the state policies. The capitalist economy always tried to contend with the state sector of the economy for markets and leadership. It developed blindly in an attempt to break away from the leadership of the state sector of the economy and the management of the government. Thus, the struggle between restrictions and counter-restrictions became the main form of class struggle in the new democratic period. Since 1949, such struggles have continued, of which three are the most important.

The first struggle, which centered on controlling markets and stabilizing prices, took place before and after the founding of the PRC. At that time, the capitalists engaged in cornering and speculation, drove up prices, and disrupted the market and the financial and monetary systems. From April 1949 to February 1950, prices soared on four different occasions. The state quickly stabilized prices by adopting the method of combining economic measures with administrative intervention. The history of galloping inflation, which lasted for 12 long years under the Kuomintang reactionary rule, came to an end and the leading position of the state sector of the economy in the markets was established. The state began to place orders with capitalist enterprises for processing materials, and to have the state monopolize purchasing and marketing and bring them into the orbit of state capitalism.

The second struggle was against the "five evils." Since the second half of 1950, following the improvement of the state sector of the economy and the large-scale increase of goods ordered by the state during the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, capitalist industry and commerce were rehabilitated and developed rapidly. At that time, some capitalists, blinded by a lust for profit, adopted the illegal means of bribery, tax evasion, stealing state property, cheating on government contracts and stealing state economic information. They disrupted the national economy in their quest for exorbitant profits. In order to repel the attacks of the bourgeoisie, shortly after the movement against the "three evils" at the beginning of 1952, the party Central Committee launched a struggle against the "five evils" and won a complete victory. The socialist position and the leading position of the state sector of the economy were further consolidated through this struggle. Workers' supervision was established in capitalist

enterprises, and the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce was greatly promoted.

The third struggle was carried out in the first half of 1953, when the urban capitalists combined with the spontaneous capitalist forces in the rural areas in cornering the market and hoarding agricultural products such as grain. Once again they contended with the socialist economy for markets. Our party adopted a series of policies and measures, which included state monopoly of the purchasing and marketing of grain, and severed the relations between private capitalism and the spontaneous capitalism in the rural areas. Thus the bourgeoisie was further isolated.

This struggle between restrictions and counter-restrictions once again proved that, following the development of the national economy, the negative role of the capitalist economy, which was detrimental to the national economy and the people's livelihood, was more and more exposed and that the contradictions between the working class and the bourgeoisie and between socialism and capitalism were more and more marked. The capitalist economy gradually became an obstacle to the further development of social productive forces. Under the new situation of large-scale and planned economic construction carried out by the state, tightening the grip on the work of socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce became an urgent requirement. Starting in 1953, China, under the guidance of the general line, began to carry out a systematic and all-round transformation of capitalist industry and commerce.

The transformation of capitalist industry and commerce was gradually completed, from lower to higher forms, through state capitalism. This was a process for opening up the road for further developing the productive forces according to the need for the development of the productive forces and the relevant change in production relations.

Through a lower form of state capitalism, the state had control over capitalist enterprises in raw materials and marketing and to a certain extent brought their production under the state plan. In addition, the state guaranteed the rational profits of capitalists. But this did not change the capitalist nature of the enterprises, which was still detrimental to promoting productive forces. To expand production, the launching of large-scale economic construction required state investment in some private enterprises which produced important and urgently needed products. Therefore, capitalist industry and commerce had to undergo the transformation from a lower form of state capitalism to a higher form of state capitalism such as joint state-private ownership.

After the implementation of joint state-private ownership, the state's leadership and restrictions on capitalist enterprises proceeded from the process of external circulation to the process of internal production so as to change them into semi-socialist enterprises. In general, the production of joint state-private enterprises developed rapidly. This showed their superiority. The profits of the capitalists increased along with the development of production. Thus, more and more capitalists accepted joint state-private ownership.

Following the development of joint state-private enterprises, some new problems emerged. The industrial enterprises that had adopted joint state-private ownership were all large factories, and the rest were mainly medium-sized and small factories, which had poor production conditions and were confronted with great difficulties. Some could hardly continue their production. It was necessary to make overall arrangements and to reorganize production in the entire undertaking. It was necessary to exercise joint state-private ownership over all undertakings. After joint state-private ownership was effected in all undertakings, the ownership of enterprises, the management right and the right to allocate personnel were turned over to the state. Such enterprises actually became socialist enterprises, except for the fixed interest paid to the capitalists.

In early 1956, pushed forward by the high tide of the agricultural cooperative movement, a high tide of joint state-private ownership of all undertakings emerged throughout the country. Referring to this situation, Comrade Mao Zedong said at the sixth session of the Supreme State Conference in January 1956: "It is beyond expectation that joint state-private ownership in all undertakings could have come so fast. By the end of October 1955, when Mr Li Zhuchen suggested a high tide in joint state-private ownership, I poured cold water on it, saying that we must not be in such a hurry and that things must be done step by step and in an orderly way, for fear that we might make a mess of it. But in less than 2 months, joint state-private ownership was realized throughout almost the entire country." These remarks of Comrade Mao Zedong's show that joint state-private ownership was indeed the general trend and popular feeling. It was like the saying "a melon falls off its stem when it is ripe," and "where water flows, a channel is formed."

In the transition from new democracy to socialism and in the struggle between socialism and capitalism, the socialist transformation of individual farming was of decisive significance.

Individual peasants have dual characteristics. On the basis of private ownership of the land and under the conditions of the capitalist economy, if the peasants were not gradually guided onto the socialist road, they would inevitably go to two extremes. A very small number of peasants would become well off through exploitation, while the great majority would once again fall into straitened circumstances from being exploited. After the land reform, this situation began to emerge in the rural areas of our country. In order to prevent the peasantry from going to two extremes, socialist transformation had to be carried out in the rural areas so as to transform the private ownership of the means of production, especially the private ownership of the land, into public ownership. Land is the principal means of production for the peasants. Transforming the private ownership of land into the public ownership of land and prohibiting the buying, selling and renting out of land would uproot land annexation, which had existed in our country for thousands of years. This would prevent the land from being used as a means of exploitation. The transfer of land to public ownership had great significance in the socialist transformation of agriculture.

Individual farming based on small-plot ownership with each household as a production unit was very weak economically. Its production was unstable. Therefore, its labor productivity and commodity rates were very low. There were serious contradictions between the limitations of individual farming and the state's

industrialization, between the limitations of individual farming and the people's increasing need for agricultural products, and between the limitations of individual farming and the peasants' desire to further develop production and improve their livelihood. These contradictions had to be resolved through the socialist transformation of agriculture.

China's peasants have a long tradition of mutual aid. As early as the agrarian revolution, there were various forms of mutual-aid teams in the revolutionary base areas. After the founding of the PRC, the mutual aid and cooperation movement developed extensively. In the winter of 1951, presided over by Comrade Mao Zedong, the party Central Committee adopted the "Resolution on Mutual Aid and Cooperation in Agricultural Production (Draft)." It was decided that the peasants should be guided in a timely manner onto the road of mutual aid and cooperation after the completion of land reform. The resolution correctly analyzed the two initiatives brought into play by the peasants on the basis of the land reform, viz, the initiative in individual farming and the initiative in mutual aid and cooperation. According to this scientific analysis, the resolution worked out the policies and tactics the party used to guide the socialist transformation of agriculture. The resolution pointed out that there were two wrong tendencies in the question of mutual aid and cooperation. One was the passive attitude adopted toward mutual aid and cooperation. With this attitude people failed to see that this was the only road for our party to take in guiding the peasants in the transformation from individual economy to collective economy. The other was an overanxious attitude. Some people thought that socialism could quickly be completely realized in the rural areas regardless of the peasants' willingness and the state of economic preparation. The party's correct principle was to carefully and actively guide the peasants in their gradual transition to agricultural collectivization. Under the guidance of the resolution, the mutual aid and cooperation movement developed healthily and rapidly in our country.

China's agriculture went through some transitional forms in its conversion from individual economy to collective economy. One of the major links was the elementary agricultural producers' cooperative, which was semisocialist and had the characteristics of land contribution and unified management. The elementary agricultural producers' cooperatives not only paid attention to the individuality of the peasants but also helped the peasants to cultivate the habit of collective management and of division of labor and cooperation, so as to make it easy for them to accept socialist transformation. Before collectivization, the Soviet Union also had organizations similar to China's elementary cooperatives. But not enough attention was paid to them. The case was different in China. In the socialist transformation of agriculture, our party, by means of its main strength and on the basis of leading the peasants to develop mutual aid teams, tried to run elementary cooperatives and expand them. Elementary cooperatives remarkably promoted the development of production and played an exemplary role. They attracted more and more peasants. Starting in 1953, agricultural cooperatives began to develop extensively throughout the country after the propagation and implementation of the general line. The building and the consolidation of elementary cooperatives in large numbers were beginning to show the superiority of the collective economy. This laid the foundation for the large-scale building of advanced agricultural producers' cooperatives of a completely socialist nature and for the realization of agricultural cooperative transformation throughout the country in 1956.

We say that the collective economy is superior to the small-scale peasant economy and that it will inevitably replace the small-scale peasant economy and become the basic form of China's agricultural economy, because the collective economy has provided extensive possibilities for the development of productivity. First, it can rationally make use of land and break through the limitations of the small-scale peasant economy in land use. Second, it can rationally make use of the labor force and effect a specialized division of labor. It is beneficial to the carrying out of a diversified economy and to the organizing of specialized production. Third, it concentrates manpower and funds to carry out capital construction projects such as irrigation and water conservancy, to carry out undertakings beyond the capacity of individual households, and to overcome the difficulties that the small-scale peasant economy might be confronted with in resisting natural calamities and carrying out enlarged reproduction. Fourth, it is beneficial for using new farm tools and agricultural machinery and for popularizing new techniques. Therefore, realizing cooperative transformation of agriculture was the only correct road for developing agricultural production and the only correct road for the peasants to get rid of poverty and to become well off as a whole.

Like individual farming, the individual handicraft industry is a small commodity economy. The socialist transformation of the handicraft industry had, in the main, undergone the same process as the socialist transformation of agriculture. It was also basically completed in 1956.

The successful completion of the three great transformations enabled China to realize the transition from new democracy to socialism and enter socialism.

The party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly pointed out that, after the nationwide victory of the new democratic revolution, there would be a new democratic society, a society for the transition to socialism. It was predicted that this transition would cover a fairly long historical period, in which we should strive to develop the socialist state-owned economy and the cooperative economy and allow capitalism, which was beneficial to the national economy and the people's livelihood, to develop appropriately (of course we should not allow it to spread unchecked as in capitalist countries, but should limit various aspects of it) until it has been converted into the socialist stage when conditions are ripe.

Subsequently, according to the practical conditions and experiences for carrying out social reform in the first several years after the founding of the PRC, the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong changed the original assumptions about the question of time and steps for the transition to socialism. They also made a new theoretical summary. In 1952, when the rehabilitation of the national economy was coming to an end, Comrade Mao Zedong timely put forward the question of the transition to socialism. In 1953, he pointed out more clearly: "From the founding of the PRC to the basic completion of socialist transformation is a transitional period. The general tasks of our party in the transitional period are the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicraft industry and capitalist industry and commerce along with the realization of industrialization."

The transitional period mentioned by Comrade Mao Zedong was the transitional period from new democracy to socialism, viz, the new democratic period. Owing to the existence of the five economic sectors, this period was full of contradictions and struggles and it was undergoing constant changes and development. The basic completion of the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production was the end of the new democratic period.

Marxist theory always develops with practice. This shows that Marxism is full of vitality. We should not negate the correct road we have traversed because of some propositions which were later changed according to practical experience and which were mentioned by Comrade Mao Zedong. The ideas of allowing the five economic sectors to coexist for a long time and of allowing capitalism to develop for a long time after the victory of the new democratic revolution were wrong and not in accord with China's actual conditions. If these two propositions had been carried out, the development of production would not have been so fast and the transition to socialism would not have been as easy as some people imagined. On the contrary, they would not only have obstructed the development of all social productive forces but also have made the transition to socialism much more difficult. Practice has proved that the general line of the party during the transitional period formulated by the party Central Committee is correct and that it was absolutely necessary to carry out the transition from new democracy to socialism without delay.

II

With the basic completion of the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicraft industry and capitalist industry and commerce, the exploiting system was abolished and the exploiting society, which had lasted for thousands of years, was put to an end. This was the most profound and the greatest social reform in China's history. This victory enabled the worker-peasant alliance and the united front to be established on a new foundation and it consolidated the people's democratic dictatorship. This victory changed the economic structure of the five coexisting economic sectors and made the public ownership of the means of production the fundamental economic system in our country. This victory further emancipated the productive forces and promoted the completion of China's first 5-year plan ahead of schedule. The people's livelihood improved remarkably along with the development of production. This victory gave impetus to the change in the people's mental attitude and to the progress of social morality and habits.

In such a large country as China with its complicated conditions, a backward economy and small-scale production predominated. Our party achieved victory in socialist transformation and completed the "painful and arduous transition" described by Lenin. Things were done so well and so successfully that there were not many upheavals in society. Production went up every year instead of down. This fully shows that the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong had a high degree of skill in leadership. Our party combined the general principles of Marxism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, found a road to socialist transformation suited to China's conditions, worked out a set of correct and flexible policies, tactics, measures and methods, and enriched and developed the Marxist-Leninist theory of scientific socialism.

The socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce in China was carried out by means of peaceful redemption. The policy of redemption toward the bourgeoisie was first put forward by Marx and Engels. But at that time it was only a tentative idea. After the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin tried to put it into effect. But, owing to the historical conditions in Russia at that time, he failed to get the expected results. However, our party turned this tentative idea into reality, thus providing a successful example for the international communist movement of the peaceful redemption of the bourgeoisie. Our party has created a unique experience in this respect.

First, it handled the contradictions between the working class and the national bourgeoisie as contradictions among the people. During the democratic revolution, an alliance was established between China's working class and the national bourgeoisie. This alliance was maintained after the founding of the PRC. Owing to this historical condition and to the correct policy adopted by our party, the antagonistic class contradictions between the working class and the national bourgeoisie were transformed into nonantagonistic contradictions. This greatly reduced the obstruction from the bourgeoisie and made it possible to eliminate the bourgeoisie by peaceful means.

Second, it adopted the method of gradual transition. According to the concrete conditions in different periods and in different undertakings, our party adopted flexible and various forms and measures to transform step by step capitalist private ownership into socialist public ownership. At every step during this transformation, the economic interests of the bourgeoisie were taken into account. Therefore, the capitalists could accept this transformation. The implementation of this policy was beneficial not only to the bourgeoisie, but, what was more important, to the working people and the whole nation. This softened its impact on society, guaranteed normal production and prevented the destruction of the means of production.

Third, it carried out the principle of combining the remolding of capitalists with the transformation of enterprises. The transformation of capitalist industry and commerce had two aspects. One was remolding man by educational means and the other was changing the system by peaceful means. Peaceful transformation did not mean that there was no struggle, but it was a special form of class struggle. The elimination of the capitalist exploiting system inevitably meets with varying degrees of resistance and opposition from capitalists. It was quite important to do a good job of remolding them. The capitalists had to be reformed according to different conditions. Sometimes the form of acute class struggle was adopted (such as the movement against the "five evils"). Sometimes the method of education and guidance was adopted to make them understand the situation well and take their destiny into their own hands. In addition, attention was also paid to fostering some enlightened capitalists who were willing to get close to the Communist Party and the people's government, so they would convince the great majority of intellectuals.

In the socialist transformation of agriculture, our party smoothly guided several hundred million peasants onto the socialist road. There was no large-scale slaughter of draft animals as happened during collectivization in the Soviet Union. Grain output did not drop but instead rose in successive years. This

was also a great victory in the history of the international communist movement.

In a country in which individual peasants are the great majority of the population, the question of how to make the peasants take the socialist road after the proletariat seizes political power has always been a difficult problem for socialists to solve. To solve this problem, Engels proposed for the first time the transformation of the private production and ownership of the peasants into the production and ownership of cooperatives by means of giving examples and providing social aid. Lenin developed Engels' theory, further clarified a series of fundamental questions on the cooperative system and proposed the absorption of the peasants into socialist construction through the cooperative movement.

Our party and Comrade Mao Zedong applied Engels' and Lenin's theory to the practice in China and scored achievements never scored by Marxists of the older generation in leading the socialist transformation of agriculture. They provided new additions to Marxism-Leninism.

First, they fully considered the strategic position of the worker-peasant alliance in the transition from new democracy to socialism. On the eve of the founding of the worker-peasant alliance in the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "The overthrow of imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries mainly depended on the strength of these two classes. The transition from new democracy to socialism was completed mainly by relying on the alliance of these two classes." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 4, pp 1415-1416) The question of the worker-peasant alliance was one of the basic questions in the new democratic revolution. It was also the basic starting point for the party's strategy and tactics in the long period after the victory of the revolution. The status of peasants has a very important bearing on the situation of the whole country. Whether China is stable depends mainly on whether the peasants' life is stable. Our party and Comrade Mao Zedong always paid keen attention to relationships with the peasants. In the long period of revolutionary struggle, our party established relationships as close as fish to water with the peasants and formed a consolidated worker-peasant alliance. After the completion of land reform, our party guided the peasants onto the socialist road in a timely manner and put the worker-peasant alliance on a new foundation. The peasants did not follow the bourgeoisie but rather the Communist Party and the working class. This thoroughly isolated the bourgeoisie economically and politically. Socialist transformation was realized smoothly.

Second, there was the problem of scientifically analyzing and dealing with the dual nature of the peasants. Comrade Mao Zedong attached great importance to the analysis of the dual nature of the peasants. He pointed out that the dual nature of the peasants was not immutable and that it would change under the influence of various conditions. China's peasants had long been under the leadership of the Communist Party and under the influence of the proletariat. The constant development of the socialist economy and the thriving of the socialist cause could not but arouse the peasants' enthusiasm for taking the socialist road. In addition, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that the dual nature varied with different strata of peasants. The poor and lower middle peasants, who make up the great majority of the peasants, were the ones who were most exploited in the old society. They

lived the most bitter life and did not become well off after land reform. They had great enthusiasm for socialism after having been educated by the party. The party first had to organize them into cooperatives, then absorb other middle peasants and finally other elements of the agricultural population. Comrade Mao Zedong's special and meticulous analysis of the various strata of the peasants and his class line formulated on the basis of cooperative transformation of agriculture in the period of socialist transformation have been proved correct in practice.

Third, they implemented the party's mass line in the movement for socialist transformation of agriculture. Changing the peasants' private ownership concerned the personal interests of several hundred million peasants. This great revolutionary movement would not have been successful without the conscientious action of the masses. If this revolutionary movement had not been carried out well, the productive forces would have been destroyed. Our party did not lead this movement by simply issuing administrative orders or adopting administrative methods. Our party, by paying attention to providing typical examples and to persuading and educating, absorbed the peasants into cooperatives in a planned way, by stages and in groups, on a voluntary basis and under the principle of mutual benefit (special attention was paid to preventing infringements on the interests of the middle peasants) and according to the different economic positions and degrees of consciousness of the peasants.

Fourth, starting from China's concrete conditions, cooperative transformation must come before mechanization. Many revolutionary historical experiences have proved that the transformation of the old production relations do not come after the full development of the productive forces. Historically, capitalism did not start on the basis of heavy machinery industry. Instead it underwent the development process from the period of handicraft workshops to the period of heavy machinery industry. Under the condition that the proletariat had seized political power, we could, according to the need for developing production, change production relations, first, by organizing agricultural cooperatives in the rural areas, with manual labor as their main form, and then by gradually realizing mechanization and further developing the productive forces. The completion of the cooperative transformation of agriculture in turn created the condition for realization of agricultural mechanization and modernization.

It is inevitable that a revolutionary movement will manifest shortcomings and mistakes in one way or another. In the transition from new democracy to socialism in our country, there were also shortcomings and deviations. These shortcomings and deviations mainly emerged in the latter period of socialist transformation, i.e., from the second half of 1955 to the first half of 1956, during which we were overanxious about the cooperative transformation of agriculture. The cooperative transformation of agriculture was carried out too fast without regard for actual conditions. Smaller cooperatives were merged into larger cooperatives. Our work was not done by fully considering the peasants' willingness to combine or in accordance with the different levels of production. It was done according to one pattern and in one style, without considering local conditions and without building a collective economy which had various forms and varying degrees of socialization. In the relationships between the collective and the state, the autonomy of the cooperatives was not fully respected. Especially in the management

of cooperatives, we did not conscientiously study or establish various forms of the production responsibility system, nor did we bring the initiative of the peasants into play. In the transformation of individual handicrafts, we also had similar shortcomings. In the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce, we did not differentiate some individual handicrafts and commerce from capitalist industry and commerce, nor did we use and make arrangements for some of the original industrialists and businessmen. But these shortcomings were after all secondary compared to the great successes achieved in the socialist transformation. Some shortcomings and mistakes cannot be prevented in an extensive social movement which involves several hundreds of millions of people and under conditions in which experience is lacking. We cannot negate the achievements in socialist transformation because there were sore problems in it, and still less take a skeptical and negative attitude toward the transition from new democracy to socialism and toward the party's general line in the transitional period because socialism failed to bring its superiority into play owing to leftist mistakes later. The basic completion of the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production laid an excellent foundation for the development of production, the prosperity of the country and the progress of society, and created a position for forging ahead. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the party Central Committee has formulated some principles and policies and implemented some readjustment measures. This shows that it is from this position that the party has continued its advance. China's socialist system has become more perfected and more developed. The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" pointed out: "Comparatively speaking, we have smoothly realized such a complicated, difficult and profound social reform in a large country with a population of several hundred million people and promoted the development of agriculture and industry and of the whole national economy. This is really a great victory of historic significance." This is the victory of Marxism-Leninism in China, the victory of Mao Zedong Thought!

CSO: 4004/3

WHY WERE 'ERRORS OF LINE' AND 'TWO-LINE STRUGGLE' NOT MENTIONED IN THE
'RESOLUTION'?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 81 pp 39-41

[Article in "Questions and Answers" column by Jin Chunming [6855 2504 2494]]

[Text] The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee did not describe the CCP's errors committed since the founding of the PRC and particularly the CCP's serious errors committed during the "Great Cultural Revolution" as "errors of line," nor did it discuss the so-called "two-line struggle," namely, the struggle between correct and erroneous lines. How are we to correctly understand this?

"Errors of line" and the "two-line struggle" are two concepts used to express the nature of inner-party errors and the state of the development of contradictions within the party. These two concepts have been used in our party for many years. Our past practice, and particularly our practice during the decade of the "Great Cultural Revolution," proved that these two concepts contain two problems: first, the nature of some so-called errors of line was inaccurately determined and misunderstood; and second, the meanings of "errors of line" and the "two-line struggle" were not clearly defined, thus magnifying them.

The following statement was prevalent for a while: Our party has experienced 11 struggles between the 2 lines. After examining this statement, we found that this is an incorrect generalization. Of the so-called "two-line struggles" in the past, some were mistakenly determined and some have already been repudiated. For example, the original eighth two-line struggle against the so-called rightist opportunism promoted by Comrade Peng Dehuai and other comrades has been proved to have been an improper struggle. The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee announced the rehabilitation of Comrade Peng Dehuai and other comrades. The original ninth two-line struggle against the so-called revisionist line promoted by Comrade Liu Shaoqi has also been proved to have been a completely improper struggle. The 5th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee formally adopted a resolution to rehabilitate Comrade Liu Shaoqi. Therefore, arguments describing these two struggles as two-line struggles are absolutely untenable.

After reexamining some facts which were previously described as errors of line, we see that they cannot epitomize the nature of problems accurately and

scientifically. For example, the struggle against the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques were previously described as the 10th and the 11th two-line struggles. However, they were two hidden counterrevolutionary conspiratorial cliques in our party. Their counterrevolutionary conspiratorial sabotage activities simply cannot be described as inner-party contradictions. The term "errors of line" not only cannot manifest their counterrevolutionary nature but are liable to obscure the nature of the problem. Let us cite another example: The struggle against Gao Gang and Rao Shushi was previously described as the seventh two-line struggle. Although Gao and Rao carried out counterrevolutionary conspiratorial activities to oppose the party and usurp power, they did not clearly put forth any political programs or propositions. Therefore, we should not describe them as targets of a two-line struggle but should follow the "resolution's" appropriate formulation: "It was a major struggle to counter the plots of the careerists Gao Gang and Rao Shushi to split the party and usurp supreme power in the party and the state."

Errors committed by Comrade Qu Qiubai and Comrade Li Lisan were all previously described as errors of line. Both of them had clear programs and theories, proceeded according to their programs and theories and caused heavy losses to the revolutionary cause. Because their errors were committed within a brief span of time--in a few months' time or in less than half a year--because they committed errors under the influence of the Communist International (Comintern), and because they all made self-criticisms later on, there is no need to label their errors as "errors of line."

Under the guidance of the leftist erroneous ideology, "errors of line" and "two-line struggle" were the two concepts which had been used indiscriminately and magnified on a rather wide scale over the past 20 years and more, and particularly during the "Great Cultural Revolution." There was once a very popular slogan: "Everything is integrated with the key link and the line." The key link referred to was "taking class struggle as the key link." At that time, the line either referred to the "proletarian revolution" or to the "bourgeois reactionary line"; the line was either the "Marxist line" or the "counterrevolutionary revisionist line." Either one or the other, there was no room for compromise or neutrality. Moreover, at that time everything, large or small, had to be "raised to the higher plane of principle and the two-line struggle," regardless of its nature and regardless of its degree of seriousness. As a result, for a long time in the past, there was this common practice: if line was not mentioned in handling a thing, it would seem that this thing was not handled from a properly high plane and that this could be regarded as not taking a clear-cut stand and not being holding fast to principle.

Furthermore, "errors of line" were regarded as more serious than errors of any other kind. Because of the formulation then that "line decides everything," people came to the conclusion that "if the line was wrong, everything was wrong." It seemed that committing errors of line was the most serious thing one could do. It seemed that a person who committed errors of line must keep on making self-criticisms and must admit his errors and ask for repeated punishment. During the 10 years of internal disorder, some cadres and peasants in an area were heard to say during their self-criticisms: "I was a Kuomintang soldier for several years." When I first heard them saying this, I was perplexed despite much thought. I

achieved a full understanding of this later on. I found that what they said was the result of a quotation: the "Great Cultural Revolution" is a continuation of the protracted struggle between the CCP and the Kuomintang reactionaries. Since the "Great Cultural Revolution" was a struggle between the CCP and the Kuomintang, people taking an erroneous stand were described as "Kuomintang soldiers." Under this erroneous influence, normal differences of opinion and disputes among comrades within the party were also regarded as two-line struggles and our comrades were easily and frequently labeled revisionists. As a result, inner-party relations became very abnormal.

Is it true that if we do not mention "errors of line" and the "two-line struggle," we cannot elucidate the nature and the state of inner-party contradictions? It is not true. If we review the history of the international communist movement, we can see that our revolutionary teachers Marx and Engels did not have this concept. Although compared with Marx and Engels, "no one has fought harder all his life against self-styled socialists than against anyone else." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 434) Marx and Engels did not sweepingly label opponents in struggles as persons committing "errors of line." Marx and Engels just made concrete analyses of their opponents' errors. They also did not describe this kind of struggle as a "two-line struggle." "Leninism grew and became strong in clashes with the opportunism of the Second International." ("Collected Works of Stalin," Vol 6, p 64) However, Lenin also seldom used the term "two-line struggle." Lenin used the terms "ideological line" and "political line." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 30, p 43) Lenin always made concrete analyses of the historical basis, conditions, significance and power of the social chauvinist trend of thought of the Second International; and made concrete analyses of the false steps taken by Bernstein and Kautsky. During his struggle against his opponents within the party, on many occasions Stalin applied the formulations of "two-line struggle" and "errors of line." However, history has proved that Stalin committed the error of magnifying class struggle and that he did not succeed in handling inner-party contradictions.

Our party started using the term "errors of line" with its criticism of Chen Duxiu. However, the concepts of "errors of line" and "two-line struggle" were not used on numerous occasions and on a wide scale until Wang Ming's return to China in 1930. We continued to use the two formulations during the exposure and criticism of Wang Ming's errors of promoting leftist adventurism. The "Resolution on Certain Historical Questions" adopted in 1945 by the 7th Plenary Session of the 6th CCP Central Committee also used these two concepts. However, these two concepts were used conditionally at that time, thus producing relatively good effects. With the development of leftist errors later on, fewer and fewer necessary conditions and controls were attached to the use of these two concepts. As a result, these two concepts ran wild and had very bad consequences.

Judging from the above brief review of the historical course, we can see that the concept of "errors of line" and the concept of "two-line struggle" did not exist when Marxism was created. The two concepts emerged during the development of inner-party contradictions and struggles later on.

Making a concrete analysis of concrete things is the living soul of Marxism. Since the contents, forms and conditions of inner-party errors are different from one

another, it is necessary to make concrete analyses and determine the nature of each case appropriately and in accordance with the concrete circumstances of each case. We should not sweepingly label these errors as "errors of line." Of course, if a given line, a correct line and an erroneous line are quite properly defined and are also easy to understand, then it is not absolutely forbidden to use the concept of "errors of line." There is really no need to give a serial number to every two-line struggle. We had better point out the characteristics of a struggle in accordance with its concrete contents. For example, we now describe Chen Duxiu's errors committed during the later stage of the great revolution [in China, 1924-1927] as rightist capitulationism; we now describe Wang Ming's errors committed during the 10-year civil war as leftist adventurism. These formulations are more accurate and precise than the previous ones.

At present, the pernicious influence of leftist errors in our party has not yet been completely eliminated, and metaphysics and one-sidedness are still exerting a deep and great influence. Therefore, we must carry out the following top priority tasks: encourage seeking truth from facts, make concrete analyses, prevent the recurrence of the old practice of having unlimited escalation of accusations and the practice of waging struggles rashly; change the party style and restore and perfect the democratic life within the party. The "resolution's" cessation of the use of the two concepts of "errors of line" and "two-line struggle" will certainly produce good effects.

CSO: 4004/3

WHY WERE THE CLASS ROOTS OF THE 'GREAT CULTURAL REVOLUTION' NOT ANALYZED IN THE 'RESOLUTION'?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 81 pp 41-43

[Article by Yang Fengchun [2254 6646 2504]]

[Text] In the process of studying the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," some comrades have asked why the resolution did not point out the class roots of the causes which gave rise to such an error as the "Great Cultural Revolution," an error comprehensive in magnitude and protracted in duration. After repeated study, we have further realized that the analysis of the "Great Cultural Revolution" made by the resolution is correct and realistic, and it fully shows that as a proletarian party, the Chinese Communist Party has adopted a strict and scientific attitude toward its own mistakes.

Such an important historical incident as the "Great Cultural Revolution" requires thorough and concrete analysis. However, simply looking for class roots without studying the new situation of historical development and attributive causes giving rise to the incident as a certain nonproletarian influence cannot explain the problem, and what is more, cannot enable the whole party to obtain a profound lesson. Some people may ask here, had not the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of the Party" passed at the 7th Plenary Session of the 6th CCP Central Committee pointed out the class roots of leftist and rightist mistakes?

Yes, the other resolution had indeed pointed out the petit bourgeois class roots of past leftist mistakes in the party. This was completely understandable at that time. It clearly pointed out that Wang Ming was not a proletarian revolutionary. When summing up the experiences and lessons of historical problems and dealing with the problem of inner-party struggle at that time, our party led by Comrade Mao Zedong completely rejected Wang Ming's set of policies and principles and dealt with differing views and even with correct opposing views as those of class dissidents with ulterior motives, laid emphasis on analyzing the contents of the mistakes and the social, historical and ideological roots giving rise to them, explained that these mistakes were caused by petit bourgeois ideas and their influence, and limited the problems within this framework. This was extremely useful, for it not only clarified thinking but also united the comrades. This was a victory for the Yanan rectification campaign as well as a hallmark of the flourishing development of our party. The advantage of carrying out this kind of struggle, it also reminded the comrades in the party, was to pay attention to

the fact that we were surrounded by petite bourgeoisie with peasants as the main body, and that we must always be on guard against the influence of petit bourgeois ideas and must actively develop proletarian ideas and struggle against nonproletarian ones. This played an important role in strengthening the ideological construction of the party. However, viewed in the light of today, this kind of analysis was also still not complete. For, apart from domestic causes, there was also a powerful international influence giving rise to dogmatism in history. At that time, the Chinese Communist Party was a branch of the Communist International. Before the Zunyi conference, certain passive factors in the history of the international communist movement had a powerful influence in our party. The fact that a German by the Chinese name of Li De (Otto Braun) who had no knowledge whatsoever of China's national condition, in his capacity as military adviser and representative of the Communist International, took complete command of the Red Army during the fifth counter-campaign against "encirclement and suppression" was an example.

In the last 20 years, class conditions in China have become vastly different. According to the analysis of the CCP Central Committee, since the land reform and the collectivization of agriculture, landlords and rich peasants have already been eliminated as a class. Since the socialist transformation of the system of private ownership of the means of production, the bourgeoisie also no longer exists as a class. Most of them have become self-supporting workers. The peasants, who formerly stood against the landlords, have now become socialist peasants and are no longer the former type of individual peasants. Since the establishment of the socialist system, former "professionals," or various types of intellectuals, have become a part of the working force in the service of socialism. The arbitrary connection of such an important historical phenomenon as the "Great Cultural Revolution" to a nonproletariat is obviously inconsistent with China's actual condition. Naturally, this does not mean that we no longer have class enemies in China. At present there are still: unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, enemy agents, various kinds of criminals seriously disrupting social order, embezzlers and thieves, speculators and manipulators and new exploiters. These people are hostile to socialism and they may gang together to attack socialism and attack the party and state when the time is suitable. However, it is also very obvious that this cannot be regarded as the class roots of the "Great Cultural Revolution."

Furthermore, when organizing and leading the masses in carrying out revolution and construction, will a Marxist, and that includes a great Marxist, make mistakes which might result in setbacks and defeats for the cause of the revolution? Although we have acknowledged for a very long time that people will make mistakes and the party will also make mistakes, we have actually developed a mentality which seems to hold that a Marxist is consistently correct and will never make mistakes. To say that he has made certain mistakes will be regarded as blasphemy and a questionable attitude toward the cause of the proletarian revolution. Consequently, the mistakes become worse and more serious, and in the end, enormous efforts must be made and hard work must be carried out to correct them. Such methods as not admitting that Marxists can make mistakes, looking for the cause in other classes but not in one's own and saying that those who agree are a hundred percent proletariat and those who disagree are out-and-out bourgeoisie are metaphysical standpoints. This is an important reason why we cannot effectively correct mistakes but keep on repeating the same mistakes. The

resolution pointed out: "Chief responsibility for the great leftist error of the 'Cultural Revolution,' an error comprehensive in magnitude and protracted in duration, does indeed lie with Comrade Mao Zedong. But after all it was the error of a great proletarian revolutionary." This realistic analysis is precisely for the practical correction of this tendency.

Why did the "Great Cultural Revolution" occur and what was the actual reason for it dragging on for as long as a decade? As pointed out by the resolution, apart from the immediate cause of Comrade Mao Zedong's mistake in leadership, the other complex social and historical causes are: some of the laws governing the development of socialist society are "relatively clear to us, but many more remain to be explored"; we are not fully prepared, "either ideologically or in terms of scientific study," for the swift advent of the socialist society and for socialist construction on a national scale; for various reasons in leadership thinking, we continue to regard issues unrelated to class struggle as manifestations of class struggle in handling the new situations and problems which have cropped up after the basic completion of socialist reform, fall back on the familiar methods and experiences of the struggle of the past and broaden the scope of class struggle; we have "misunderstood or dogmatically interpreted" certain ideas and arguments set forth in the writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin and used them as the "theoretical basis" for our subjective methods. At the same time, because feudalism has had a very long history in China, the influence of feudal ideas cannot be easily eliminated. The style of work in the party has become more and more subjective and arbitrary and resulted in a steady weakening and even undermining of the principle of collective leadership and democratic centralism in the political life of the party and the country. In short, for all these reasons, it was difficult for the party and the state to prevent the beginning of the "Great Cultural Revolution" or to check its development. This is a serious lesson for the international communist movement.

In understanding problems this way, we do not for a moment negate the idea of class analysis. Class analysis is a fundamental Marxist principle. It is the concrete application of dialectical materialism in class society. Since the disintegration of primitive communist society, the existence of the classes in society is an objective fact. All political ideas are related to the interests of a specific class. The social and political ideas, words and actions of the people as well as their habits and style of work are branded with the mark of their own class. Therefore, in class society, if we become divorced from class analysis, we will easily lose our orientation when confronted with the complex phenomena of society, and will not be able to distinguish the essence of things. However, the method of class analysis also definitely cannot be simplified into merely looking for the class roots of problems. Take ideological problems for example. Some have class influence and some have nothing to do with class influence. Ideological problems can only be solved by correct ideological work. If we simply adopt the method of class struggle, it will not only be of no avail but will also magnify the contradiction instead. This is where we have come to grief in the past. We hold that the concrete application of the method of class analysis is still to carry out concrete analysis of concrete problems. We must have the correct attitude of conscientiously holding ourselves responsible to the party and the people, carry out thorough investigation and study, find out the real causes and connections and affirm those problems which are of a class nature.

However, we absolutely must not insist on calling those problems which are not of a class nature, class problems. Moreover, we must also study the conditions which give rise to various problems and mistakes and where they have slipped onto the wrong road.

We may say that the analysis of the "Great Cultural Revolution" made by the resolution passed at the sixth plenary session not only conforms to Marxism-Leninism but also conforms to China's actual conditions, because it has withstood the test of history. Only if we have a thorough knowledge of these concrete conditions can we have a definite object in view in adopting measures and in drawing up and perfecting various systems for the party and the state so as to do our work better in the future, avoid repeating the same mistakes and smoothly carry out the great undertaking of the four modernizations.

CSO: 4004/3

NEW SITUATIONS, NEW DEMANDS, NEW METHODS—AN INVESTIGATION OF CULTURE FOR THE
MASSES IN ZHEJIANG AND JIANGSU

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 81 pp 44-48

[Investigation report by He Wangxian [0149 2598 6343] and Lu Rongchun [7120 2837 2797]]

[Text] Some time ago, we visited certain parts of Zhejiang and Jiangsu Provinces to investigate cultural work for the masses in rural and urban areas. Although we spent only 20 days on the trip and could only make cursory observations, our views were broadened and our understanding was heightened. We deeply feel that strengthening cultural work for the masses and enlivening their cultural life in the rural and urban areas is an important factor in current developments and a big factor in helping the 800 million peasants solve their problem of educating the younger generation. We were happy to note that many of the party committees and government departments in these two provinces had already done much work and reaped fruitful results and experience in this connection.

Demands That Must Be Met

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," and particularly since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the country has been enjoying political stability and the national economy is gradually returning to normal in the course of economic readjustment, and the living standard, in material terms, of the masses in the rural and urban areas has been improved to varying degrees. In particular, notable changes were seen in the countryside. The localities we visited in Zhejiang and Jiangsu Provinces are prosperous localities south of the Changjiang River. In recent years, both agricultural development and the living standard of peasants have risen rapidly. The peasants there urgently demand a more enriched cultural life. At a group discussion meeting in Shaoxing, we came across some reference materials on the cultural work of the people of the Paogu people's commune. It can be described as follows: This commune, located in the suburbs of Shaoxing municipality, has a population of over 16,500. The average annual income of commune members is about 177 yuan. Following the steady improvement in the living standard of the commune members, their desire for a better cultural life is increasing daily. "Whenever they come across news of one of the villages showing a movie or staging a theatrical production, they do their utmost to see it, traveling as far as 10 to 20 li if necessary. If there is news about a good show or a good movie in a certain town, all means of transportation to the town are mobilized and crowded with passengers." A responsible comrade of the

Hangzhou Municipal Office of Literature and Art of the Masses told us: Whenever a movie is scheduled to be shown in the Longmen people's commune of Fuyang County in the suburbs of the municipality, the commune sends people, 3 days in advance, to where the movie is to be shown in order to mark out with lime or poles, or with chairs as a barricade, the seating areas for their commune members. People keep watch there in turn until the film is shown. During the Spring Festival in 1980, a theatrical troupe staged several shows there. More than 10,000 people attended and at the end a movie was also shown for their entertainment. In Hangzhou, we held a group discussion meeting at which we were informed of the following: Cultural life is especially drab in the mountains and fishing villages. Frequently, people living in the hilly regions climb hills and mountain slopes, and fishermen in fishing villages sail their fishing boats, to travel scores of li just to attend a theatrical show or to see a movie. Describing the situation in the words of the masses, it can be said that at present they have enough food and enough clothing but their cultural life is surely wanting.

The party Central Committee is deeply concerned about this problem. On the instructions of leadership cadres of the Central Committee, in January of last year the Propaganda Department and the Department of Culture of the Central Committee and the Central Committee of the Youth League issued a report entitled "Certain Views on Enlivening Cultural Life in Rural Areas." The report emphasized that, concurrently with guiding the peasants to concentrate fully on developing agricultural production and pursuing agricultural modernization, correct policies and measures should be taken to fully support and help the peasants to gradually enliven and enrich their cultural life in the rural villages. It proposed a guideline calling for "strengthening leadership, developing actively, adjusting measures to local conditions and progressing steadily." It also laid down basic principles requiring that this work be done on a spare-time, voluntary, small-scale, multiple-form and economic basis. The important role played by this report in promoting the development of mass cultural work and enlivening cultural life in the rural areas was not only welcomed by the extensive masses of people and by the basic-level cadres in the rural areas but also greatly attracted the attention of party committees at various levels and the government departments concerned.

Upon receipt of the report, the Bureau of Culture of Zhejiang Province convened a group discussion meeting to discuss and study cultural work for the masses. The great majority of the prefectures, municipalities and counties in this province have already set up one or two trial cultural centers in the rural areas. In the province as a whole, more than 40 percent of the people's communes have already set up cultural stations and more will be set up. In Jiangsu Province, this work was taken up much earlier. A comrade of the Bureau of Culture of Jiangsu Province told us: Cultural offices have now been set up in each and every municipality or county in the province; most people's communes have set up cultural stations; work has also begun on establishing trial cultural centers in the rural areas; over 100 such cultural centers of a fairly well-developed status can be found in the province, while those in the Suzhou area have developed especially rapidly. In general, in recent years mass cultural work in these two provinces has basically been carried out well. Nevertheless, in the new situation, there is still a large and difficult task in carrying out mass cultural work.

A Promising Cause

The establishment of trial cultural centers in the rural areas and market towns has a deep significance in the building of new modernized socialist rural areas. They enjoy the extensive support of the masses and have bright prospects and great possibilities. This scheme is being actively tested in both Zhejiang and Jiangsu Provinces.

In Xiaoshan County in Hanzhou's suburbs, Zhejiang Province, we visited the rural village cultural center of the Puyan people's commune, which is considered one of the better communes in the province. The commune, located along the banks of the Qiantang River, has a population of 29,000, who are engaged in agriculture and are doing quite well in agricultural and sideline production. In the last 2 years, its per-mu grain output was over 2,000 jin; its per-mu yield of raw cotton was 135 jin; the gross value of the annual output of the commune enterprises amounted to over 13 million yuan and the average annual income of a commune member was 194 yuan. In order to meet the demands of the commune members for theatrical performances, movie showings, and other cultural and recreational activities and entertainment, this commune, complying with the spirit of the relevant directives from the central authorities and relying principally on the financial strength of the collectives, has set up a fairly large rural village cultural center. Work on the center was started at the end of 1979 and was completed in just over a year.

When we approached this new cultural center, the first thing which caught our eyes was a new motion picture theater. It was indeed a spacious theater, seating over 1,500 people. The folding chairs were of one color. The ceiling was adorned with white plastic tiles which were sound-insulated and of various designs. The stage was quite spacious and the lighting facilities were excellent. In addition, there were dressing rooms and a reception building with living quarters for visiting artists. In addition to the motion picture theater, this cultural center has 2 film projection groups equipped with 16-mm film projectors, 1 television room with a color television set, 1 reading room, 1 tea and story-telling room, 1 photography society, 1 amateur art and literary propaganda group, 1 skating rink and other cultural facilities. Since establishment of this cultural center, the cultural life of the masses has been greatly enriched. In just over a year, 14 special theatrical troupes from the provinces, municipalities and other counties in the country have visited it, giving some 165 performances, while some 126 films have been shown, attracting over 270,000 viewers. During the Spring Festival this year, the center organized 16 cultural and recreational activities including stage performances, movie showings, exhibitions, ball games, skating and so forth. As a result, the town was bustling with people every day. In one day alone, over 10,000 people took part in the activities. In this way, in their after-work hours, the broad masses of commune members and town residents did not have to travel far or spend much money, but could still enjoy seeing a movie or a stage show. This brought to an end the daily routine of peasants toiling in the fields in the daytime and sleeping in the night--a tasteless life style made up of only the three simple elements of eating, working and sleeping. Furthermore, the establishment of this cultural center in the Puyan people's commune widened the socialist ideological operation front. It changed the social atmosphere, prevented and reduced the proliferation of such phenomena as feudal superstition,

gambling and other evil habits. It promoted stability and unity and helped to spread scientific and cultural knowledge.

There are many small market towns in our rural areas. They have people's communes, and a production brigade is usually found not more than 10 li away. By the establishment and use of commune cultural centers in these small towns to guide and control the recreational clubs of production brigades, we will set up a relatively complete and systematic cultural network. This network will achieve the basic purpose of having three types of cultural centers in operation, each with an assigned role, viz, one leadership center to organize and manage the commune's cultural activities, one center to provide the broad masses with multiple forms of cultural activities and entertainment, and one center to guide and train backbone elements and literary and artistic work in rural areas. If all the rural areas and small market towns can set up such cultural centers, then cultural life in the rural areas will be greatly enriched.

At present, cultural centers in rural areas are still in the initial stage of development. Providing them with various cultural facilities must begin realistically and be improved gradually. We should not rush headlong into mass action without regard for actual conditions or search vainly for more centers and ignore quality requirements. But precisely what should a cultural center in a town in a rural area be like? Is there a prescribed standard? This is a problem worth studying. A responsible comrade of the cultural bureau of Suzhou Prefecture told us that, in order to avoid having useless and standard centers, we must prescribe a definite standard for cultural centers in rural areas. Based on the actual conditions in Suzhou Prefecture, the following requirements can be mentioned: 1) a backbone staff of cultural workers including a propaganda team engaged in sparetime cultural and artistic activities; 2) a motion picture theater which meets the requirements of building safety, approved hygienic standards and so forth; 3) a definite number of cultural facilities of prescribed standard such as a library, an exhibition hall, a television room, a recreation hall, grounds for ball games, a story-telling room, a gallery and so on; 4) a number of basic-level recreational clubs or cultural rooms with the production brigade as the basic unit; and 5) a well-managed control organization. Suzhou Prefecture has comparatively good economic and cultural conditions. Hence, in its opinion, its demands should be of a higher standard. We feel that these demands are valuable reference materials on how to build cultural centers in rural areas. Naturally, conditions differ in different localities, but in setting up a cultural center, we should take note of actual conditions and adjust measures to local conditions.

Letting the Masses Handle Mass Cultural Work Is a Good Measure

Whether we are actually doing mass cultural work or testing the establishment of peasant village cultural centers, even though we plan to do things simply and economically, we must still spend some money. At present, the state can provide very little subsidies for the development of mass cultural work in rural areas. The principal source of income must come from the collective economy of the communes and the production brigades. At the moment, with the exception of a small number of commune-run enterprises which have fared well and which have a large income and therefore can afford to give a little subsidy in support of mass culture, the great majority of commune-run enterprises cannot afford to give any

support to mass cultural activities. Under such conditions, certain localities adopted methods of either "supporting culture with industry" (i.e., the spare-time art and literary propaganda teams themselves organize their own small industrial plants) or "supporting culture with culture" (i.e., relying on income from the cultural facilities and activities of the communes themselves). This was a good measure for the maintenance and development of mass cultural undertakings.

According to what we have seen and heard in certain localities, the great majority of communes where mass cultural work has achieved commendable results and where they have been able to speedily set up cultural centers, have adopted one of the above-mentioned methods. Some comrades said that, from their experience, "only through taking the road of 'supporting culture with industry' or 'supporting culture with culture' can we strengthen and develop the peasant village cultural teams; otherwise, enormous efforts might be wasted on their establishment, only to result in their subsequent dissolution." In Jiangsu Province, Shazhou County adopted rather early the method of "supporting culture with industry" and achieved fairly good results. An artistic and literary propaganda team in this county set up its own industrial plants. The profit from these plants amounted to 260,000 yuan in 1979 and increased to 380,000 yuan in 1980. Funds were thus provided for the various commune-run cultural activities, including the building and provision of various relevant facilities for cultural activities and the purchase of television sets, cassette recorders, books and sports goods. The Puyan people's commune of Xiaoshan County in Zhejiang Province, mentioned above, adopted the method of "supporting culture with culture" and reported an income of 20,000 yuan last year. Facts have amply shown that failure to adopt either the method of "supporting culture with industry" or "supporting culture with culture" will deprive mass cultural work in rural areas of a necessary source of income. This will invariably adversely affect its consolidation and development.

For artistic and literary propaganda teams of people's communes to operate industrial plants in order to "support culture with industry" is a new road pursued by the masses acting on the basis of "masses handling their own cultural activities." According to reference materials on hand, these types of brigade-run or team-run industrial plants represent a new organizational form which embodies the dual function of making culture prosper and developing production. They are different in nature from the usual type of sparetime theatrical troupes and are also different from the commune-run industrial plants intended purely for production. For example, the cultural station of the Xiufeng people's commune of Shazhou County in Jiangsu Province set up a small plant run entirely by members of the propaganda team. Its purpose was to raise funds to subsidize members of the sparetime artistic and literary propaganda team who had lost work time and also to subsidize the cost of meals and other expenses. At the beginning, the plant manufactured metal fittings, which the market sorely needed. Last year, it turned to the production of sofas and pillows and made a net profit of 110,000 yuan. This not only helped to solve the problem of finding funds to finance the activities of the propaganda team itself but also made it possible to spend some of the plant's accumulated funds on the mass cultural activities of the commune. Summing up the experiences gained over the past few years, the concrete way for artistic and literary propaganda teams to run industrial plants should be as follows: "The team runs the plant, plant and team being one united body; the

commune gives the plant its backing and puts it under control of the cultural station, with the dual purpose of serving both industry and art; production is then developed and the accumulation of funds increased; independent business accounting is enforced and industry supports culture." Only in this manner can team-run plants progress smoothly without the possibility of forsaking mass cultural propaganda work during the busy farm season or neglecting production because of the heavy pressure of mass cultural propaganda tasks. In general, the experiences gained by the localities have been roughly the same. Their methodology might be different but all of them have emphasized the following points: a clear-cut direction of development, strengthened leadership, capable working personnel, suitability of arrangements, a stable organizational structure, and strict and rigid management and control. To sum up, in running industrial plants, the propaganda team should bear in mind that the purpose of their team is propaganda work and the purpose of setting up the plant is to support cultural activities. The principles of hard work and self-support and of serving both industry and art must be insisted upon. Whatever profits earned should be devoted to increasing mass cultural activities and to developing culture for the masses. Hence, the measure of "industry supporting culture" offers the best solution to the problem of raising funds for mass cultural enterprises. It is precisely for this reason that it has the support of various quarters.

Strengthening Leadership and Continually Pressing Forward

It is generally admitted that party committees at various levels and departments concerned have paid careful attention to the development of mass cultural work. Unfortunately, some comrades, owing to their failure to understand the important relationship between developing production and enriching cultural life, generally believe that their duties consist mainly in offering guidance in production, increasing grain output, and improving the living conditions of the masses and that cultural life is not a matter which concerns them. Some go so far as to condemn mass cultural activities as an impediment to normal production work. Naturally, under the influence of such ideas, they are not concerned with the cultural life of the masses and far less with strengthening their leadership or support of it. The principal fault in this attitude is the failure to correctly understand that the purpose of developing agricultural production should not only be the improvement of the material living standard of the peasant masses but also the meeting of their urgent demand for cultural life and entertainment. Our party's supreme task in this new era is to build our country into a strong socialist country which is modernized, highly democratic and highly civilized. But an important indication of a high degree of civilization is that the masses of people can enjoy a cultural life which is rich and colorful, noble and healthy, and inspiring to mind and spirit. By means of various cultural activities, we can heighten the socialist consciousness of the masses, foster communist ideology, moral standards and values, and build a generation of new people. We must also stress the recreational side of mass culture, which helps to get rid of fatigue, recover physical power, mold temperaments and refresh the spirit. When the task of mass culture is done well, production is not only not impeded but is, in fact, promoted. Naturally, there is a correct way of handling the relationship between the two facets of cultural activities. In mass culture work, we must insist on mass culture work being a sparetime activity. Activities must be arranged so as to conform with the busy or slack farming seasons. But this is also a problem of

reinforcing the party's leadership. Surely, we cannot completely put aside mass culture work just because of the fear of impeding production. A responsible comrade of the Puyan people's commune in Xiaoshan County said it well: "When production is at a low ebb and the commune members are having difficulties in their material livelihood, to engage in cultural activities in excess of what is appropriate will only divorce us from the masses; yet, following improvement in the living standard of the masses, not creating the necessary conditions to satisfy the demands of the masses in cultural life will also divorce us from the masses."

Developing mass cultural work requires a team of backbone workers. At present, in regard to the full-time cadres in cultural offices or stations the major problems are the following: 1) temporary staff shortages; 2) levels of work capability below the demands of current mass cultural work; and 3) levels of wages and treatment too low and cadres badly off, resulting in some comrades losing interest in their jobs. These problems need to be solved gradually and well by the relevant departments, which must also take account of actual current conditions. As for mass cultural and artistic teams, we must strengthen control over them. In particular, artists and voluntarily organized theatrical troupes should not be allowed to freely go their own way. Once control over them is loosened, there will be a reaction. In Lianshui County in Jiangsu Province, when there was no control over the artists, there was great confusion. The lure of money induced some people to stage shows that were on the banned list. Some people privately accepted pupils for tutoring. One artist accepted 15 pupils, each of whom had to pay a deposit of 200 yuan. It was only after the cultural department of the county had tightened its control that this situation was changed. Ningbo municipality in Zhejiang Province, when organized theatrical troupes once made their appearance, their members were mostly former actors and actresses who had been drifting along without employment and workers and employees not satisfied with their jobs. The shows that were staged had no scripts, being mostly "roadside shows" ad-libbed by old artists. Some of them were of very poor taste. Subsequently, the cultural bureau of the municipality took the necessary measures of requiring the registration and testing of would-be artists. They were duly organized and their performances were arranged according to schedule. This enabled them to play an active role in mass cultural work.

In promoting mass cultural work, providing the necessary sites or locations is a matter of prime importance. In particular, in cities and towns, in order to strengthen the education of the younger generation and to attract people from the sidewalk to the cultural activities, we must provide suitable sites or locations for the purposes. When in Nanjing we had occasion to study how the Qinhuai cultural hall (on the Nanjing recreational grounds) and the Yijiang Men cultural station handled this problem of providing sites for cultural activities. Historically, Nanjing's Fuzi Temple has been a center for cultural activities. The cultural hall and recreational ground of this temple currently encompass 5 story-telling rooms, 1 open-air theater, some 20 recreational rooms, 1 exhibition hall, 1 discussion room, 1 reading room, and 1 training ground. The center daily attracts 4,000 to 5,000 visitors and an even larger number on festival days and holidays. The Yijiang Men station is located in a more secluded section of the city. It has no theater, no motion picture house, and no public park. Though supported by the party committee, this local cultural station still has to tackle by itself the problem of finding sites for cultural activities. Abiding by the

principle of doing things simply and economically, it divided the 12 residential committees subordinate to it into 4 divisions, each of which was allocated a culture room. This attracted many young people. At the same time, several artistic and literary teams, which presented regular performances, were formed. This greatly enriched the cultural life of the masses. From our visits, we became deeply aware of the need to provide suitable sites for cultural activities. Unfortunately, we understand that at present many of the cultural offices or stations are facing the acute problem of a shortage of sites for their operations. Relevant party and government leaders should pay close attention to this matter.

In the promotion of mass cultural work, we must also properly handle the relationship between popularization and improvement. Over the past few years, following the development and the increasing popularity of films and television shows, the populace has correspondingly demanded the raising of the standard of what they see. Not only have the peasant masses and the residents in cities and towns urgently demanded cultural entertainment but also increased quality. Some comrades commented that if the kind of mass cultural activities now in vogue were of the same kind as those in the 1950's, then they could hardly meet the situation and demands of the 1980's. Therefore, while mass cultural activities must be popularized, their quality must also be improved. At the Yanan artistic and literary group discussion meeting, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "If popularization work stayed forever at the same quality level, be it for 1, 2 or 3 months or 1, 2 or 3 years, if it had nothing new to offer, only the same theme, same characters and the same supporting cast and props, then would not both the educator and the educated eventually become alike? What meaning does this type of popularization work have? People demand popularization but they follow this with the demand for continual quality improvement." Those words of Comrade Mao Zedong's still have a realistic and far-sighted significance. In the current mass cultural work, we must thoroughly carry out the guidelines of effecting improvement in the direction of popularization and effecting popularization in the direction of improvement. For example, the artistic and literary propaganda teams of the rural areas (spare-time theatrical troupes) should principally offer performances on current topics or current themes. It is also necessary to supplement them with some propaganda on the current tasks of the state. But, all in all, great efforts must be made to improve the quality of performances and make the peasants really enjoy seeing or hearing them.

Recently the party Central Committee issued a directive "On Showing Concern for the Cultural Life of the People." The directive called on party committees at various levels and the relevant departments to pay great attention to the cultural life of the people, to put it on an important footing in the work of party committees, to grasp it in earnest and well and eventually to solve all existing difficult problems which can be solved. The directive further urged that the people be led onto a richer and more colorful and healthier road in mass cultural and recreational activities. This is a further step we must take in order to do a good job of handling mass cultural work. Let us hope that under the party's leadership, mass cultural work will continue to progress along the road of, first, serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and, second, serving socialism.

PAY CLOSE ATTENTION TO THE POPULARIZATION OF AGRICULTURAL SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 81 inside back cover

[Article by Kang Ye [1660 0369]]

[Text] In developing agriculture, we rely first on policies and second on science. By relying on science we mean arming agriculture with modern science and technology to continuously improve labor productivity and create more material wealth.

The work of popularizing agricultural science and technology is a bridge for applying the results of agricultural scientific research to the practice of production and is an integral part of scientific and technical agricultural research. It is an important task in current agricultural work to adapt oneself to the new situation in agricultural production, do a good job in the work of popularizing agricultural science and technology, and improve the level of scientific farming.

If we fail to popularize science and technology, the results of scientific research will merely remain in books and in laboratories. According to relevant materials, of more than 200 items of scientific and technical research findings in Shaanxi Province, only 52 percent have been applied in practice to varying degrees and almost half of them have simply not been adopted. Take Liquan for example. There are lots of cases in this county in which the per-mu yield of wheat was 800 jin, of corn more than 1,000 jin, of rapeseed 300 jin and of ginned cotton over 150 jin. But the yields of the whole county failed to reach the targets set. Of course, this involved the question of material conditions, but the failure to popularize new findings, new technology and new experience was also a very important reason. Interplanting corn between wheat rows is a very effective measure to solve the problem of delayed planting of corn and also to strive for good summer and autumn harvests. Interplanting 100,000 mu of corn will increase the corn output by 10 to 24 million jin but will not affect the wheat output. According to a soil survey report, in Liquan, 84.2 percent of the soil lacks phosphorus, and carbon and phosphorus are comparatively imbalanced in 55 percent of the soil. Applying phosphate fertilizer to soil that lacks phosphorus can increase the yields by a big margin. But the vast numbers of cadres and masses have not had a good understanding of the role of phosphate fertilizer, resulting in its limited use. Close and short planting are measures which require little cost but yield enormous returns, in producing stable and high yields of cotton. Experiments of various sizes in this work began in 1973. Almost 10 years have elapsed since the popularization of close and short planting in 1974,

but the area planted with corn in this way amounts to no more than 20 percent of the area under cotton. There are many such measures which can increase production but they have not been popularized well.

To do a proper job in the popularization of agricultural science and technology, first and foremost it is necessary to firmly grasp the key point and correct the orientation. The four-level agricultural scientific networks below the county level should concentrate their time and energy on the popularization of agricultural science and technology. The scientific research units above the prefecture level and institutions of higher learning should release certain personnel to do the work of popularizing agricultural science and technology. This will be conducive not only to production but also to scientific research and will have the benefit of killing two birds with one stone. To accomplish this, it is imperative to formulate necessary policies and effectively overcome the tendency in which scientific research is given one-sided stress while the popularization of its results does not receive the attention it deserves.

Second, to popularize science and technology, it is necessary to proceed from actual local conditions in production. Agricultural production has strong regional features. A certain variety might be appropriate in a certain place, but it will not necessarily produce high yields in another place. Advanced technology in one place will not necessarily be suitable for another place. Therefore, it is necessary to determine the items to be popularized in accordance with the local conditions of soil, weather, production level and materials. Only through the confirmation of the adaptability of a certain product or technology by conducting experiments and demonstrations and through a thorough investigation of manpower, materials and finances and the degree of eagerness of the masses, can we determine whether or not to popularize something.

Third, it is necessary to do well in strengthening organization, training a technical force and implementing the system of job responsibility. The key to doing a proper job in the work of popularizing agricultural science and technology lies in building a mammoth force to carry it out. At present, it is essential to stress the work of building four-level agricultural scientific networks. Apart from firmly grasping the strengthening of organization, it is necessary to adopt various measures such as running agricultural schools and training courses, sponsoring on-the-spot meetings and meetings for exchanging technological experiences and visiting exhibitions, commence technical training in a widespread and profound way, make use of broadcasting, television, films, printed materials and publish reading matter. These measures will enable us to disseminate and popularize agricultural scientific and technical know-how and improve the scientific and technical level of the peasants. In order to fully arouse the enthusiasm of the scientific and technical personnel at various levels and to do the popularization well, it is imperative to gradually introduce the various forms of technical responsibility systems, such as the contract system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration with output and the system of job responsibility.

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